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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS,

ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS,

MACEDONIANS AND GRECIANS.

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the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy
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BOOK EIGHTEENTH.



THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS, CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS chapter includes twenty-four years, during which Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned in Egypt. In this interval the Romans engage in war; first against Philip king of Macedon, over whom they gain a famous victory; and then against Antiochus, king of Syria, who also is defeated, and forced to sue for peace. At the same time, feuds and divisions break out between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans, and the famous Philopœmen dies.

CHAPTER I.

INCLUDING THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.

SECTION I.—PTOLEMY EPIPHANES SUCCEEDS PHILOPATER IN EGYPT. TROUBLES WHICH SOON FOLLOW.

I RELATED in the preceding book, how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out with riots and excesses, had come to his end, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired, were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined that this might easily be done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibes in the ministry; and accordingly, they concerted measures to despatch him.*

At last they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the Macedonians† was assembled, in which Agathocles and Agathoclea were present. Agathocles, after shedding abundance of tears, began by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reason, he had come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he was well informed, designed to usurp the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined, that, by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately despatched, and that, consequently, he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes,

* A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Justin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv, p. 712—720.

† Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians, who descended from the Macedonians, and the posterity of the founders of Alexandria, or to those to whom the same privileges had been granted.

all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which, Agathocles, his sister, and Cæinthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them was spared; the usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people, and who never punish those who resemble themselves.

Philammon, the assassin who had been hired to murder Arsinoë, having returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and, taking this opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge the death of their mistress. Accordingly, they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to Sosibes, son to him who had governed during the last three reigns. History does not inform us whether he was still alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he passed more than sixty years in the administration. No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Sosibes. He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, and of Arsinoë daughter of that Lysimachus; of Magas son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes king of Sparta; and lastly, of Arsinoë daughter of Berenice.* It is surprising that, notwithstanding a conduct of so much inhumanity and cruelty in his administration, he should support himself so long, and at last come to a peaceable end.

Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedon, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, than they immediately joined in a criminal alliance, and excited each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Libya, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Cœlosyria, and Palestine; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what has been observed of fishes that the large ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse Providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes. But it fully justified its conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following their example. For while they were meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piecemeal, Providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities, as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.†

* Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 64.

† A M 3601. Ant. J. C. 203. Polyb l iii. p. 159. Id. l. xv. p. 707 et 708.

During that time, Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite the city of Miletus.*

The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in assaulting the city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods; and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from their foundations, that not the least vestiges of them might remain.†

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, three thousand Macedonians, and six thousand allies; and two thousand Macedonians and confederates, with seven hundred Egyptians, were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus seventy.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that, for two reasons: the first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had stopped even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sensible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men, either by sea or land, in one day. He was highly afflicted on account of it, and it visibly damped his natural vivacity.

The ill success of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was, to be unshaken in his resolutions; and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible constancy and perseverance; and, accordingly, he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain that we may not date at this period the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Cians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which, have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants were called Cians, was a small city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it at the request of his son-in-law, Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city in all probability was taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Cians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens; and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people who act in this manner plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is surprising they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages; which shows, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.‡

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. Abydos, however, shut her gates against him, and even refused to hear the deputies he had sent, so that he was forced to besiege

* Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 70 et 73.

† A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. Polyb. Ib. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

‡ A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733—739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 475. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709—711.

it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestos in Europe. The distance between these two cities was about two miles. The reader will suppose, that Abydos must have been a city of great importance, as it commanded the straits, and made those who were possessed of it, masters of the communication between the Euxine sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have risen to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed, with the greatest vigour, the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, than they were immediately either dismounted by the balistas, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydonians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But, finding that the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inner one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other, they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: that such forces as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe conduct; and that all free citizens should retire whenever they pleased, with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydonians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the besieged, in transports of despair, assembled together, to consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution: first, that the slaves should be set at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour: secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple of Diana; and all the children, with their nurses, in the Gymnasium: that this being done, they then should bring into the great square all the gold and silver in the city, and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the quadrireme of the Rhodians, and the trireme of the Cizycenians.* This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they made choice of fifty of the wisest and most ancient of the citizens, but who at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what should have been determined; and they were made to take an oath, in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy master of the inner wall, they should kill the women and children, set fire to the two galleys, laden with their effects, and throw into the sea all the gold and silver which they had heaped together: then, sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand; and, after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce, before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermineing, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the last. Accordingly, the inner wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that though Philip had perpetually sustained, with fresh soldiers, those who had mounted to the assault, yet, when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydonians as marched first to the breach, over the neaps of the slain, fought with fury; and not only made use of their swords, and javelins, but, after their arms were broken to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they rushed furiously upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, broke the sarissæ or long spears of others, and with the pieces,

* Quadriremes were galleys with four benches of oars, and Triremes those with three

struck their faces, and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and those who had escaped, were so greatly fatigued, and had received so many wounds, that they scarcely could support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed, that to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip, by daybreak, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip; during which, the greatest part of the Abydonians who survived, vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens, and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But now, he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated citizens, whom despair had made so furious and distracted, some were strangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their swords; some were running to murder them, others were plunging them into wells, while others were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized with horror at this spectacle, stopped the soldiers, who were greedy of plunder, and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes, that during this interval they would change their resolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

A short time before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts which it will be necessary to explain. The fame and glory of this people had recently spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa, an event which so gloriously, with regard to the Romans, terminated the second Punic war.* The court of Egypt, being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had addressed the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; declaring that the late monarch had desired it at his death. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase, by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had some differences, which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated to accept the guardianship, and had consequently appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to enjoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil, for that, otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them.† Every reader will perceive, that declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

* A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201.

† Justin. l. xxx. c. 2, 3. et l. xxxi. c. 1. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6 Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2 et 18.

At the same time there arrived in Rome, ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprises of the two kings: and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some great design. This was an additional motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

On arriving at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos at the time that the city was on the point of being surrendered. Æmilius informed Philip that he was ordered, in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece, nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration his pretensions upon Attalus and the Rhodians: that, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but, that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the rupture. "But," said Æmilius, interrupting him, "did the Athenians and Abydonians attack you first? Philip, who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king, replied: "your age, your beauty" for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person, "and especially the Roman name, exalt your pride to a prodigious degree. For my part, I wish your republic may observe punctually the treaties it has concluded with me; but, in case I should be invaded by it, I hope to show that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation."* The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer: and Philip, having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

It appears that Æmilius went into Egypt, while the two other ambassadors went very properly to Antiochus. Æmilius having arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out; and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes the Acarnanian to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

In the mean time, the forces of Philip laid waste Attica, the pretence of which invasion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the citizens were solemnizing the grand mysteries there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbidden. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.†

The Athenians carried their complaints against this enterprise to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only sought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very

* *Insueta vera edidit, ferocior oratio visa est, quam quæ habenda apud regem esset. Ætas, inquit, et forma, et super omnia, Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primum velim vos fœderum mores servare mecum pacem. Si bello lacesseritis, mihi quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomeque haud minus quam Romanum nobile bello sentiat.*—Liv. l. xxxi. n. 13

† Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

busy in Asia. This made the Romans uneasy, who called to mind the troubles which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Having thus ended the war against Carthage, they judged it advisable to prevent the enterprises of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer as pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the proprætor, to advance toward Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.*

In the mean time, the Roman senate deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in person; and that in case they were not immediately succoured, he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the proprætor and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed, that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.†

Upon this news, the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty galleys commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail immediately. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose; having taken the field in person against Attalus and the Rhodians.‡

SECTION II.—EXPEDITIONS OF SULPITIUS. PHILIP LOSES A BATTLE. THE ACHÆANS DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS.

CLAUDIUS CENTO, whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his galleys, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with securing the city and country around it; but, having advice that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the sentinels asleep, entered it without molestation, set fire to the public magazines which were full of corn, and to the arsenal that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garrison to pieces; and, after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræus.§

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither in hopes of surprising the Romans. But they had gone; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, than to be a spectator of that city still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers called hemerodromi,|| who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before daybreak. Perceiving that this stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in order of battle, on the outside of the walls, at the gate Dipylus; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed several of them with his own hand, drove them back into the city, whither he did not think it advisable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country seats, on the plate for the public exercises, at

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1—3.

† Liv. l. xxxi. n. 5.

‡ A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14

§ A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22—23.

|| They were so called from running a great number of miles in one day

the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places. He marched from hence with a view of surprising Eleusia, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded toward Corinth, when, hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his incursions. Philip offered to charge himself entirely with that war, and his proposal was received with universal joy. He, however added a condition, which abated it very much; that they should furnish him with as many troops as were necessary for garrisoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they should not leave the places behind him without defence, while he was fighting for them. They perceived that his design was to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himself master of it, and engage in a war against the Romans. Cyliadus, who presided in the assembly, eluded the proposal, by observing, that it was not allowed, by their laws, to debate on any subject but that for which the assembly had been summoned. They therefore broke up, after having resolved upon the war against Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a second attempt upon Athens, which succeeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of such temples, statues, and valuable works, as remained in the country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

The consul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent to Macedonia a considerable detachment, under the command of Apustius the lieutenant, who laid waste the plains, and took several small cities. Philip, who had returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with great vigour.*

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians on their side. They were now about to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors; he who was deputed by Philip spoke first. All he required was, that the Ætolians should observe strictly the treaties of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Romans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, at Syracuse, Tarentum, Capua; the last city especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, nor magistrates; more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. "If foreigners," said he, "who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separates us from them, should dispossess us of this country, it would be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise with little or no consequence or duration; but with foreigners, with barbarians, we, while we are Greeks, are and shall for ever be at war. Three years ago, you concluded a peace with Philip in this very place; now the same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in the same manner."

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most awful tombs; as if he had

declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead, and the majesty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion on Athens, and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power, that of the gods only could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonians, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer, and exemplified in Carthage, which, but just before, had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty, declared that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those whom they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented, in a short, but strong, and pathetic speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family and friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all, facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But, to confine my speech to what directly relates to you," said the ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, "we engage in the war against Philip, with no other view than to defend you; and have concluded a separate peace with him, possibly you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; while we, on the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a war which you had renounced. Having, however now put an end, thanks to the gods, to the Carthaginian war, we are determined to turn the whole force of our arms against Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendship and alliance, unless you should choose to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans."

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the suffrages. It is said, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republic, which now, he said, might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest party.

In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war, both by sea and land; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced toward the Dassaretæ, and Philip had also taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed upon the spot.*

The king, persuaded that the care which he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service, caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witnesses of the honours paid to their memory. Nothing is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar.† This spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had a quite

* Liv. l. xxx. n. 33—39.

† Nihil tam incertum nec tam instabile est, quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad sepe undam omnem diminutionem videbatur, factorum, id ne tam pigritiamque incessit.—Liv.

contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who seldom employed any other weapons than arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reason, the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gashes made by the Spanish sabres, whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped away, and heads separated from their bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemies they were to act.

The king himself who had never seen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and posted himself at a little more than two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence, which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, that what he saw was not the camp of barbarians.*

The consul and the king remained inactive the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horse, and the other foot; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided, with no less prudence, an ambuscade which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept; and for that reason he lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults, and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles distance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers dispersed themselves over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened precisely as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plain, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march, and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers, ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way; while himself seized all the passes by which they could return. Every side now presented a scene of blood and slaughter; in the mean time, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and those who guarded the passes killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march and succour their comrades wherever they could; he marched the legions in a hollow square against the enemy. The troopers being dispersed; at first lost their way being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought

* The same words are ascribed to Pyrrhus.

at different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which, by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army; not to mention that these troops being highly animated by the presence of the king and the Cretans, who fought close together, and with the utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. The soldiers who fled, perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about and pushed their horses against the enemy, who were in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before, now flying in their turn. Many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the sword, but several plunging into morasses, were swallowed up, with their horses in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger: for having been thrown by his horse, which had received a severe wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it; but the man himself being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated on those of the military profession, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army; and suffer themselves through an imprudent desire of glory, to be deprived of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have secured.

Philip, however, had not lost a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a second, and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore despatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms in order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp, set out from it, without noise, as soon as it was dark; and having got a whole night's march and part of the following day before the consul, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.*

The Ætolians, who only waited the event in order to take up arms, declared without the least hesitation for the Romans, and the Athamanians followed their example. Both people made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardaniens, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages, consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus, and came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the sight of so powerful a succour. In a free city like that of

* Liv. xxx. c. 39—43.

Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions they pleased.* Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed; that the festivals, sacrifices, and priests, established in their honour, should be abolished; that every place, where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraven, relating to them, should be declared impure and profane; that the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies and fleets, should also utter anathemas and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by sea and land; in a word, against the Macedonians, in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, that whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people; and that whoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed upon the spot, without any formality. The last clause was, that whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratides, should be enforced against Philip. In this manner the Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only strength.† Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.‡

The fleet, at its leaving the Piræus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands; after which Attalus and the Romans separated, and went into winter quarters.

New consuls being chosen, the year following, in Rome, Villius had Macedonia for his province.§

Philip, while he made the several preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the success of the war he had undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to states, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at, and dissatisfied with his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath, which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a strong tie, such a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty, as he himself professed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor show the least veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidants, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious as not to scruple at the commission of the blackest crimes, had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity nor honour. Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute

* Nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam: quod gēdes, cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudine alitur.—Liv.

† Atheniensis quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philip. cum gerebat.—Liv.

‡ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 44—49.

§ A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199 Liv. l. xxxi. n. 40 et xxxii. n. 3

the finished villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meanest and most grovelling manner toward his superiors. He was possessed of such great influence and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined that powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned universal joy among the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this subject, history does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.*

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia till very late; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or carry off convoys. T. Quintius Flamininus† having been nominated consul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predecessors, but set out from Rome, at the opening of the spring, with Lucius his brother, who, by the leave of the senate, was to command the fleet.‡

At the beginning of the year in question, Antiochus attacked Attalus very vigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. They entreated the Romans, in the name of Attalus, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The Senate made answer, that as nothing could be more just and reasonable than the demand of Attalus, he therefore was at liberty to recall his forces; that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their influence with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land, as well as naval forces, which they had employed against Philip, their common enemy; that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was incumbent on such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans to be at peace. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Cœlosyria, to recover those cities of which Aristomenes had dispossessed him. The Romans had intrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he raised the best troops he could.§ He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money, to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers.|| Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest posts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his age. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such success in his levies, that he brought six thousand soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

The ministers of Alexandria, seeing Antiochus employed in Asia Minor, in the war which had broken out between him and Attalus, king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Cœlosyria, to recover, if possible, those provinces. He carried on that war so successfully, that he recovered several

* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 672, 673.

† Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, these being two different families.

‡ A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9—15.

§ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43

|| A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200

¶ Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.

cities, retook Judea, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem, and, on the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, to which city he brought, besides the glory of his victories, very rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.*

He had no sooner arrived there in person, than the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who had returned with an army, was defeated at Panæas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the ten thousand men he had left. Antiochus besieged him there, and reduced him to such extremities, that, being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus disposed things so happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept the ignominious conditions above mentioned; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.†

Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with a resistance that greatly exasperated him; and accordingly having taken it, he abandoned it to his soldiers for plunder. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and, returning back, subjected all Palestine and Cœlosyria.‡

The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced toward their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities. On his arrival at Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him every honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers whom Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed to have been made expressly on account of Philopater's attempt, who would have forced his way into that place.§

Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews, transplanted at this time, that many of those descended, who were "dispersed or scattered abroad,"|| whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel-times.¶

Antiochus, having thus subjected all Cœlosyria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquest in Asia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by reuniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. As it would be necessary for the success of his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time when he should be at a distance from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptole-

* A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Hierom. in c. xi. Dan. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3

† A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex. Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

‡ Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 27, et Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19.

§ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3

|| They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter: "To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad," James, i. 1 "To the strangers scattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," 1 Peter. i. 1

¶ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 9

my ; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older ; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified ; and the Egyptians, relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.*

I now resume the affairs of Macedonia.† I observed that Quintus Flamininus, by either of which names I shall call him hereafter, had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Having arrived at Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apsus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow, steep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were possessed of the avenues ; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that he must have employed too much time in this winding march, he was afraid to move too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip, having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly, several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain ; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy and afterward retreating by steep, craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed ; the Macedonians having planted on all these rocks, catapultas and balistas, overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds, who fed their sheep on the mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way which was not guarded ; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them as their guarantee, Charops son of Machatas, the person of the greatest distinction among the Epirotes who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having such a voucher, sent a general with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprise, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few slight skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms ; perceiving on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon between them, he marched directly against the enemy, continually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redoubled their efforts, and drove the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy places ; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the summit of it, with a most dreadful noise ; and at the same time fell upon the Macedonians, who, seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, were struck with a panic, and fled with the utmost speed. Not more than two thousand of them, however, were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first toward Thessaly ; but fearing that the enemy would follow and again attack him there, he turned off toward Macedonia,

* Hieron. in c. xi. Daniel

† A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 198

and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. But, as they submitted with great cheerfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition, than to their past fault: a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he took the most considerable of them. Artax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so resolute a defence, that he was at last forced to leave it.

In the mean time, the Roman fleet, reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariste, garrisoned by Macedonians; after which, the three fleets advanced toward Cenchrœa, a port of Corinth.*

The consul marching into Phocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatea was the only city that shut her gates against him; so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. While he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design, which was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were on the point of laying siege to Corinth; before he began it, however, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors, sent in the consul's name by Lucius, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at loss in regard to what resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and, on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans. They had received, from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was universally suspected on account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterward those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip; the Athenians were appointed to speak last, that they might refute what Philip's ambassador should advance. They spoke with the greatest virulency against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him, and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches occupied the whole day, so that the assembly adjourned till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates, that all those who intended to speak might begin. But no one rose up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this, Aristenes, chief magistrate of the Achæans, in order that the assembly might not break up without doing business, spoke as follows: "What then is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you used to dispute, at your tables, and in your conversations, about Philip and the Romans, which generally rose to so great a height, that you were ready to cut one another's throats? And now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and arguments on both sides, you are silent? Surely, if the love of your country cannot free your tongues, ought not the resolution which each of you has formed in private, either for or against Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to speak; especially as there is not one of you who does not know, that it will be too late after the resolution shall be once taken?"

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any one of the members to give his opinion; nor even occasioned the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. All continued silent and motionless.

Aristenes spoke again to this effect: "Chiefs of the Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want courage more than counsel; since not one among you dares to speak his sentiments with regard to the common interest. Were a private man, I possibly might act as you do; but being the chief magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either that the ambassadors should not have been allowed to assemble us, or that they should not be dismissed without some answer. How will it be possible for me to make any, unless you shall authorize me by a decree? But, since not one among you will, or dares speak his thoughts, let us suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the ambassadors which we heard yesterday, are so many counsels they give, not for their own interest, but solely for ours; and let us weigh them maturely. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, desire our friendship and alliance; and they request us to assist them in their war against Philip. On the other side, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty which we concluded with him, sealed and ratified by an oath; one moment he requires us to join with him, and the next he insists upon our observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you surprised to hear those, who are not yet our allies, demand more than he who has long been a confederate? Doubtless, it is not either modesty in Philip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts them to act and speak as they do. This difference in their sentiments arises from the disparity of their strength and situation. My meaning is, we see nothing here belonging to Philip but his ambassadors; whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor near Cenchræa, laden with the spoils of Eubœa; and the consul and his legions, who are but at a short distance from the fleet, lay waste Phocis and Locris with impunity. You are surprised that Cleomedon, Philip's ambassador, should have advised you, in so fearful and reserved a manner, to take up arms in favour of the king against the Romans. If, in consequence of the treaty in question, and of the oath on which he lays such stress, we should require Philip to defend us against Nabis, the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans, he would not have any answer to make; much less would he be able to give us any real succour. This we experienced last year, when, notwithstanding the express words of our alliance, and the mighty promises he made us, he suffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians to ravage our lands without opposition. In my opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict himself in every part of his speech. He spoke with contempt of the war against the Romans, pretending it would have the same success as that which they had already made with Philip. Why then does he implore our succour at a distance, and by an ambassador, instead of coming and defending us in person, we who are his ancient allies, against Nabis and the Romans? Why did he suffer Eretria and Cariste to be taken? Why has he abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, and every part of Phocis and Locris? Why does he suffer Elatea to be besieged at this instant? Was it a superior strength, was it fear, or his own will, that made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give up to the enemy those insuperable barriers, to go and conceal himself in the most remote part of his kingdom? If he has voluntarily abandoned so many allies to the mercy of the enemy, should he keep them from providing for their own safety? But, if he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it, do you, O Cleomedon! believe, that it is possible for us Achæans to resist the Roman arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged to submit? No comparison can be made between the past and the present war. The Romans, at that time employed in affairs of greater importance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now

they have put an end to the Punic war, which they sustained **sixteen years** in the centre of Italy, they do not send succours to the **Ætolians**, but they themselves, at the head of their armies, invade Philip both by sea and land. Quintius, the third consul whom they have sent against him, having found him in a post which seemed inaccessible, did, nevertheless, force him from it, plundered his camp, pursued him to Thessaly, and took, almost in his sight, the strongest fortress belonging to his allies. I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athenian ambassador has advanced concerning the cruelty, the avarice, the excesses of Philip, is not true; that the crimes which he committed in **Attica** do not any way affect us, any more than those he perpetrated in many other places against the gods, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, that we even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion, the injuries we have suffered from him. In a word, if we suppose that we are not treating with Philip, but with Antigonus, a mild and just prince, and from whom we all have received the greatest services; would he make a demand like that of to-day, so evidently opposite to our safety and preservation? In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians should come and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, will it be possible for the king to support us against such formidable enemies, or shall we be able to defend ourselves? Past transactions point out to us what we must expect hereafter. The medium which is proposed, of our remaining neutral, will inevitably render us a prey to the conqueror, who will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for the event, before we would declare ourselves. Believe what I say, when I assure you there is no medium. We must either have the Romans for our friends or for our enemies; and they are come to us with a strong fleet, to offer us their friendship and their aid. To refuse so advantageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occasion, which will never return, would be the highest folly, and show that we run voluntarily on our own destruction."

This speech was followed by a great noise and murmuring throughout the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates, called demiurgi, were no less divided among themselves. Of these, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; and the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass, any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws directed the assembly to terminate. The debates grew so warm, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarcely forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pallene was one of the five magistrates who refused to make the report. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, entreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety, and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers would not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him, not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces, added to the weight of paternal authority, made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last acquiesced.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people clearly manifesting what they wanted, the Dymæans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives, withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed; and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who also had lately done them very considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is **abhorred** every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, **confirmed** immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans,

all ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchraë. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. Finding, however, that the city was quiet, the machines of war were advanced on all sides, and many assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it; Lucius at last acquiesced with the advice of Attalus, and the siege was accordingly raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleets. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

While the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius, the consul, was employed in the siege of Elatea, where he was more successful; for, after the besieged had made a vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles, one of the generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECTION III.—THE ÆTOLIANS AND NABIS DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS PHILIP DEFEATED, AND A PEACE CONCLUDED.

NEW consuls were appointed at Rome; but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, was justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.*

The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter quarters in Phocis and Locris; when Philip sent a herald to him to desire an interview.† Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome, with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycladus, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom the people had banished a short time before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynder, king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them; and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Phineas, their magistrate, interrupted him with these words: "We are not assembled here merely about words; our business is, either to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most powerful." "A blind man may see that," replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas, whose sight was bad. Philip was very fond of jests, and could not refrain from them, even while treating on the most serious affairs; a behaviour very unbecoming a prince.‡

This first interview being spent in contests, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did

* A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27 et 28.

† Liv. l. xxxi. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 341.

‡ Erat dicatior natura quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans.—Liv.

purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have sufficient time for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them; and they were on the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly entreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace; promising, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed to, but on condition, that his troops should immediately evacuate Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

When they arrived, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip on several accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, cities which he himself justly, though insolently, called the shackles of Greece, it would be impossible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a subject that would have been protracted to a great length, they were interrupted, and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back, without being gratified in a single demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to inform him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage, by way of preliminary, entirely to quit Greece.

Philip was now firmly resolved to make the necessary preparations for war. As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achæa, through their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, he was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possessions of such of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and those who remained, were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and cheerfully, were not molested; but such as were either suspected to conceal their riches, or discovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity. Nabis having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for the abolition of debts; and the second, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.*

The tyrant soon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was master of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to such conditions of a treaty as he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted; in consequence of which the proconsul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a step which seemed very unbecoming in both. In this meeting, the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and

* Liv. l. iii. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to a four months truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on those conditions. The alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans: but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expense even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men, and dispossessed them of all their riches; shortly after, he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, she extorted from them, at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable moveables, and all their precious stones and jewels.

When the spring was come, for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter, Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, who till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphilus, the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces, and unguarded; but were greatly surprised when they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet the next day. They, however, concealed their grief and surprise; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous, to have discovered them.*

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead; so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristhenes, captain-general of the Achæans, spoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not speak much, and, laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimously resolved on; no one daring to oppose or speak against it.

As the disorder of Attalus did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea, highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he soon after died, at the age of seventy-two years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most great men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king and of a private man.

He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres, and Athenæus, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.*

The armies on both sides had set out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were nearly equal, and each consisted of about twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.†

Here Polybius, and Livy, who frequently copies him, show the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a greater number of branches were spread, which made them so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarcely carry them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. The Romans did not leave more than three, or at most, four branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the soldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his shoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

The latter kind of stakes are also of much greater service. Those of the Greeks might be very easily pulled up. As the Grecian stake, the trunk of which was large, was single and detached from the rest, and besides, as the branches of it were strong and numerous, two or three soldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave with each other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarcely possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, which were so closely entwined that no vacant place was left; besides which, all the ends of them were sharp pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not easily be removed, for two reasons; first, because it was driven so deep into the ground that there was no moving it; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwoven, that it was impossible to pull up one, without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or three men applied their whole strength to them, yet it was impossible for them to force the stakes away. And whenever, by shaking and moving them about, they were at last forced out of their places, still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks; they were to be had every where, could be carried with ease, and were a strong palisade to a camp.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which turn on the usages and practice of war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints; and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves, and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotusa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarcely see two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephale,

* Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 21. Polyb. Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

† Polyb. l. xvii. p. 754—762. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 3. 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin, l. xxx. c. 4.

which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about a thousand light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the same time directed them in the strongest terms to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first, both parties were a little surprised at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to the general what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppose the enemy, despatched a courier to desire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately sent Archidamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them, two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thousand men, with five hundred horse, which, joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved very valiantly; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, despatched Heraclides, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers, those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the resistance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage and intrepidity. These were the best soldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been driven into the valley. At some distance from the enemy, they rested a short time, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased, either with the place or the weather, but could not refuse himself either to the repeated shouts or entreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, at this moment in which their fate was about to be determined, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Asia, and the whole east, subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant men, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. The proconsul reminded his soldiers of the victories they had so lately gained; on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and, to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms: and, what ought to rouse their courage still higher, Philip, whom they now were about to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired by these speeches, the soldiers, who, on one side, called themselves victors of the east; and on the other, conquerors of the west; the former, fired with the glorious achievements of their ancestors; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained; prepared on each side for battle.* Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and marching

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri orientis, alteri occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferentesque in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam et obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem reventibus experimentis virtutis florem.—Justin.

with a haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. The skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, now returned to the charge, and began the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastened toward the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. But, shortly after, seeing them give way, and in great want of support, he was obliged to sustain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march toward the hills where he then was. In the mean time, he received such of his troops as had been repulsed; posted them, whether horse or foot, on the right wing; and commanded the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks close on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commanded the phalanx to march toward them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed soldiers to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedonians. The battle being commenced, each side set up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had evidently all the advantage; for, charging impetuously from those hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops, so well closed and covered with their shields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which had but just come up. As its ranks were broke and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians; persuaded, that if he could break it, and throw it into disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle in which its whole strength consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he left the right where he was, it not being in want of support, and considering the present disposition of the armies, consulting only his own reason, he marched toward the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charged them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, could not face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune broke into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themselves, threw down their arms and fled. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans, who had given way, having rallied, had returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a complete victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind, he drew off with a body of troops to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans, who pursued his left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted, to await for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent as to send orders to Larissa

to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætolians were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape. For they amused themselves in plundering his camp, while the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy; so that when they returned, they found almost nothing in it. They reproached them first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled openly, each side loading the other with the grossest insults. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners and the rest of the spoils, they marched toward Larissa. The Romans lost about seven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thousand, eight thousand of whom died in the field, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætolians had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory; but, they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves; declaring, without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans, and spread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them, for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was still more enraged at them, for their insolent reports in regard to their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness toward them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderness and caution in regard to allies so useful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he dissembled wisely; had he shut his eyes and ears to many things, and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might say or do improperly, he might, perhaps, have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flamininus, who was at Larissa, under pretence of desiring a truce for burying the dead; but, in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests; and was so polite as to bid the messenger tell the king, "that he desired him not to despond." The Ætolians were highly offended at this message. As these people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of it from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates, for the entrance of Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He assembled them before the king arrived, to inquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amyntandrus, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preserve peace and liberty, even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said, that if the proconsul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken; that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very easily effected, providing he would take advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons, he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander; "You do not know," says he, "either the character of the Romans, my views, or the interests of Greece. It is not usual with the Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other power, to ruin him entirely; and of this, Hannibal and the Carthagi-

nians are a manifest proof. As to myself, I never intended to make an irreconcilable war against Philip; but was inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed him. You yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with such a design? How shameful are such sentiments! When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel him with bravery and haughtiness; but when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor to show moderation, gentleness, and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than formerly; but it no less concerns their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and Gauls,* who, were they not checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon Greece, as they have frequently done before."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion and that of the council was, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever resolutions they pleased on this occasion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having represented, in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war; "I shall take care of that," replied the proconsul, "and shall take effectual methods to put it out of his power to undertake any thing against us."

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after, the council being assembled again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute, whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent. Only Phineas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace, was his having advice that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities in a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible, that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of the war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a truce for four months; whereupon he received four hundred talents from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends, as hostages; and gave him permission to send to Rome, to receive such farther conditions from the senate as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return to Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

While these measures were concerting, to bring about a general peace, some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androsthenes, who commanded under the king, at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of more than six thousand men; he was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians

* A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining Thracia.

were divided in their sentiments ; some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Thessalonica.*

At Rome, the time for the election of consuls having arrived, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudis Marcellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintus, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people ; and public prayers, during five days, were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war against Philip.†

Some days after, ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia ; the affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to his respective views and interests ; but at last the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpose ; for the people approved the proposal of Flaminius, and ratified the conditions. The senate afterwards, appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, to settle, in conjunction with Flaminius, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same Assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome ; but that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broken out in Boeotia, between the partisans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height. Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

The ten commissioners, who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, soon arrived in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flaminius, were as follow : that all the other cities‡ of Greece, both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws : that Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons : that he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, five feluccas excepted, and the galleys having sixteen benches of rowers. That he should pay a thousand talents ; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.§

In this manner Flaminius ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment, Antiochus, seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, had actually resolved to carry his arms into Europe. If, therefore, Flaminius, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace ; had the war against Antiochus been joined, in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip ; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world, uniting their views and interests, invaded Rome at the same time ; it is certain, th

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14—19.

† A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24, et 27—26.

‡ The word *other*, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

§ Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. xxxiii. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—378.

Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates; affirming, that it was nothing more than empty words; that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty, with which specious term the Romans covered their interested views: that they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking, was not freed from its chains; and, at most, had only changed its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flaminius to restore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece; and to put strong garrisons in them, to prevent their being seized by Antiochus. He prevailed in the council to have Corinth set at liberty; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, was the topic of all conversations, and various constructions were put upon them; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald came forward, and published, with a loud voice, "The senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius the general, having overcome Philip and the Macedonians, ease and deliver from all garrisons, taxes and imposts, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Eubœans, the Phthiot Achæans, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhœbians; declare them free, and ordain that they shall be governed by their respective laws and usages."

At these words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon, and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. But now, fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium; so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished every other thought.*

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his

* Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quam quod universum homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse; alii alios intueri mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem, quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos inter rogabant. Revocatus præco, iterum pronuntiavit eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantum cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quam libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim perfectum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupavit omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum.—Liv. l. xxxiii. p. 32.

hand, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years, for he was not above thirty-three years old, and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue.

I would indeed ask, whether any man ever could see a more happy or more glorious day than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we estimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity, and justice! It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they should be to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to many.

The remembrance of so delightful a day,* and of the invaluable blessing then bestowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time; the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, "that there was a people in the world, who, at their own expense and the hazard of their lives, engage in a war for the liberty of other nations; and that not for their neighbours, or people situated on the same continent, but who crossed seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy and extirpate unjust power from the earth, and to establish universally, law, equity, and justice. That by a single word, and the voice of a herald, liberty had been restored to all the cities of Greece and Asia. That a great soul only could have formed such a design; but that to execute it was the effect at once of the highest good fortune, and the most consummate virtue."

They called to mind all the great battles which Greece had fought for the sake of liberty. "After sustaining so many wars," said they, "never was its valour crowned with so blessed a reward, as when strangers came and took up arms in its defence. It was then that, almost without shedding a drop of blood, or losing one man, it acquired the greatest and noblest of all prizes for which mankind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare at all times; but of all virtues, justice is most rare. Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had great abilities for carrying on war, and gained battles both by sea and land; but, it was for themselves and their country, not for strangers and foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was reserved for the Romans."†

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the present state of affairs; and the effects soon answered the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian games; for the commissioners separated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus having returned from Argos, was appointed president of the Nemean games. He competently discharged all the duties of that employment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the festival; and he also published by a herald, at these games, as he had done at all the rest, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good ordinances in them, reformed laws, restored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels and seditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-establish unity among them, than he had been in conquering the Macedon-

* Nec præsens omnium modo effusa lætitia est; sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermone revocata. Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ sua impensa, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquis vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præstet; maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacis animi fuisse, ad effectum adducere, virtutis et fortunæ ingentis.—Liv. l. 33

† Plut. in Flaminio.

nians; so that liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And, indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

It is related, that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury, and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, said to them, "I repay with usury the kindness your father did me; for I am the cause that all mankind praise him." But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in praising, but was also of infinite service to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only freely received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and joyfully submitted themselves to their orders. Not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the divine protection, to use Plutarch's expression,* the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners, came to the assembly of the Greeks, which was held at Thermæ,† a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared, and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not show so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them, that all possible justice would be done them. They accordingly came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

SECTION IV.—THE ROMANS SEND AN EMBASSY TO ANTIOCHUS. CONSPIRACY AGAINST PTOLEMY. SCOPAS PUT TO DEATH.

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwise would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the same time, Philip and Antiochus; for it was evident that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

After having established good order in Cœlosyria and Palestine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia Minor, and among these, of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs, and to give him the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.‡

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia, who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being unable to resist so power

* *ἡ πᾶς συνεφεσπασμένη.*

† According to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has justly translated Polybius in this place, *ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἑτολίων συνόδῳ*. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.

‡ A. M. 3308, Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de Bell. Syr. p. 86—88.

ful an enemy, they employed the Romans for protection, which was soon granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus toward the west; and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the remainder, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of Lysimachia* all in ruins, the Thracians having demolished it a few years before, he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus, his second son; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended by deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. The first conferences, were employed only in civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia which he had taken from him; that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip, it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view than to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized. That with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive them. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of his son Seleucus; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lysimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no farther in the affairs of Asia, than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, they were accordingly admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as to incense Antiochus to such a degree, that he cried in a passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia, with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first went to Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning Ptolemy's death was false. For this reason,

* This city stood on the isthmus or neck of the peninsula

he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it; but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his measures. He thought himself very happy, in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conspiracy having been really formed against his life. This design was instigated by Scopas. That general, seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians, his countrymen, imagined that, with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprised of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed, with all his accomplices. This conspiracy caused the government to confide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After the death of Scopas, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judea and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot safely be relied on.*

One of the principal accomplices of Scopas, was Dicaearchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedon. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He despatched all the others by poison, but caused Dicaearchus, to die in excruciating torments.

The instigators of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well; but when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death, to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him, the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects now laboured under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that which they had just before terminated: that Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet: that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made

Greece the seat of war: that the *Ætoli*ans, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: that Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant, Nabis, more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and therefore, having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.*

Flamininus was commanded to look to the transactions of Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all the steps of Antiochus. He had just before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the spring, to go to Ephesus; and had scarcely left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested at Carthage, during six years, from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans; but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, for more particular information as to the fact; with orders, in case the proofs should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design;† so that, before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship, which always lay ready, by his order, against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt, that with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to complete all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; war was accordingly resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. In the mean time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but in reality to gain time, and observe what the enemy were doing.

With regard to Greece, all the states, except the *Ætoli*ans, whose secret discontent I observed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this he convened the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, "You perceive," said he, "that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities; or whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has seized it. This affair concerns the Romans, only as the slavery of a single city would bereave them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece. Consider therefore what is to be done, and your resolution shall determine my conduct."‡

The assembly were not divided in their opinion, except the *Ætoli*ans, who could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they

* A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49. Justin. l. xxi. c. 2.

† Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaque pericula peritum; nec minus in secundis adversa, quam in adversis, secunda cogitantem.—Justin.

‡ Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—43.

carried so high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time when they boasted of their having entirely restored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who, according to them, were Greeks only in name, but real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the subject before them; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promised to send a speedy succour; which was faithfully performed. Aristhenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse.

Philip sent fifteen hundred men as his quota, and the Thessalians four hundred horse. The brother of Quintius arrived also with a fleet of forty galleys, to which the Rhodians, and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta justly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lyncurgus the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies designed at first to besiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more advisable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had sent for a thousand chosen soldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thousand he had already among his forces. He had three thousand other foreign troops in his service; and besides these, ten thousand natives of the country, exclusive of the helots.

At the same time, he also concerted measures to secure himself from domestic troubles. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and posting armed soldiers round them, after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed, whom, he said, he had no reason to fear, provided things were quiet at home, he would release those prisoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a strong prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the helots, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, while he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first thrown into some disorder; but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city, when the rear guards had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very spirited on both sides; but at last, the foreigners were broken, and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence ruined the valleys, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city

The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably ; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage ; however, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city ; and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great stress, he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans and Quintius himself had concluded with him in the war against Philip ; an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their having never violated. That nothing had been changed on his part since the treaty. That he was then what he had always been ; and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just ; and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose them. Accordingly, in his answer he only expatiated in general complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny : but, was he less covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty ? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it ; as also to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to make them in writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends ; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny ; for that otherwise, nobody could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored. That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he feared that the Spartans would sustain a long siege, during which, the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation ; but the true reason was, his apprehension that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and he, by that means, be deprived of the glory of having terminated this war ; a motive which commonly influenced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he put on the appearance of yielding to their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us besiege Sparta," says he, "since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprise. As you are sensible that sieges are often protracted to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be so : this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege : but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter, that is coming on, exhibits to us nothing but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of the city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering-rams, and other machines of all kinds, that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with all things necessary for us. We are obliged, in honour, to carry on this siege vigorously ; and it would be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprise." Every one then, making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen ; and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as individuals would consequently be obliged

to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expense of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper for the good of his republic, and the interest of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed in concert with them on the conditions of peace to be offered to the tyrant. The chief were, that, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis garrisoned by his troops; that he should restore to the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each; that he should surrender to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves; that he should restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but, without forcing them to do so; that he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one; that he should pay down one hundred talents of silver, and afterwards, fifty talents annually during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprised, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which it reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. No farther mention was made of peace, and the war was renewed.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification than the bravery of her citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed it; and, even then, only in places which lay open, and were easy of access; all the other parts were defended by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As the army of Quintius, was very numerous, consisting of about fifty thousand men, because he had sent for all the land, as well as naval forces, he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans, drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the tops of the houses. Wherefore, holding their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the Testudo or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles. The Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, believing that the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames; the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of

the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintus then caused a retreat to be sounded; and after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days, he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintus, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many entreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly, the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintus.

While these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmon was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintus, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother, who returned to their respective fleets, repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemean games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and distributed the prizes in it; or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives, especially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and restored to all their privileges: but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful and inglorious treaty, for so they called it, they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece. That here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; while the lawful king, Agesipolis, who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment. In a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty; but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things, should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintus, as his subsequent conduct will manifest.

Quintus returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which, properly speaking, are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war having been undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis, on their arrival at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

In the early spring, Quintus went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the entreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to re

pent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprises of the Roman generals, his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion, the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprise, that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the other cities.*

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds, with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in a few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But, as there was reason to fear, that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added, to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to send the whole army thither. That before the expiration of ten days, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis, were evacuated, and that he would surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth. That this would show whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief; whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they had spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their master, instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet, either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words, but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the greatest advantage to individuals, as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony; that so long as they should be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to distress them; that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chooses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as from a father to his children. While he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all who were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius, causing silence to be made, desired that they would inquire strictly after such Roman citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and

send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintus for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost the Achæans only one hundred talents, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of five hundred demarii each; consequently, the number amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintus followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow on him all possible blessings.

He also withdrew the garrison from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome, entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people, amidst the other pomp, the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's car with their heads shaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECTION V.—ANTIOCHUS AND THE ROMANS PREPARE FOR WAR. THE LATTER SEND TROOPS AGAINST NABIS. HE IS KILLED.

ANTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war.* Ambassadors had arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia Minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affairs of king Antiochus required a minute examination, it was referred to Quintus and the commissioners who were returned from Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprised, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintus, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and should see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintus reported what had been spoken and transacted in the conference; and entreated each of them in particular, to inform their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties against Antiochus, with the same ardour and courage as they had done against Philip. The ambassadors of Antiochus conjured the senate not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree in which the public tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but deputed to the king, Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lysimachia.

* A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 57—62.

They had but just departed, when ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate, that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war against the Romans. I have observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time, and he always persisted in it, was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: That by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but one hundred galleys, ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. He declared, that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he was persuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, should he not succeed in the latter, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans; that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king approved this project at first: Hannibal sent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to sound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by personal interview than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their last victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonstrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Diæarchus, Thoas's brother to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.*

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with galleys, soldiers, and sailors: that, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus: that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then presented itself: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, to take a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been subdued by their arms: that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger: that he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he, Philip, unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united; how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed, particularly, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the *Ætoli*ans: that they alone had opened for them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him; and the strong towns and seaports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the *Ætoli*ans took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. The two kings, however, did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and despatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the *Achæans* to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace he had solicited so urgently. At the same time they sent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly, but took secret measures for promoting the great design he had in contemplation. He thought it advisable to strengthen himself by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of *Cœlosyria* and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should retain but half the revenues.*

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance of so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry the daughter of Antiochus, he would be under the necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance: that should the Romans get the better, as it was highly probable they would, he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that, on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in the war, the only benefit that he could reap by it, would be, that having the honour of being his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave; for they might be assured, that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they should have much better terms from the Romans; and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event showed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great haste into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He again set out from thence in the beginning of the spring, to punish the *Pisidians*, who were inclined to revolt; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the east.

* Polyb. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88—92. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3

I have said before, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he desired nothing so much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined, or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given to him which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks: that, after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit, either voluntarily or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed in that conduct, which was, by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits, to render him suspected by the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was on this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made himself the celebrated answer I have related elsewhere,* when, speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics, as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that Prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus, his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his show of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the eastern provinces; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs; in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great ascendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not

* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

whether they should make war, but how and in what manner they should carry it on, assured the king, that he would certainly be victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece : that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans : that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis on one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them ; and that, on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail, at the first signal of war, to take up arms also : that they had no time to lose ; and that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal should be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected by the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was greatly diminished, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. He, however, had a private conference with him, in which he unbosomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans, " It is this oath," says he, " it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during thirty-six years ; it was the same animosity that occasioned my being banished from my country in a time of peace, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If you defeat my hopes, guided by the same hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends : but if there are any motives which incline you to peace, take council of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors having returned to Rome, it appeared evidently, from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable ; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against them. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this, he took upon himself the command of the Achæan fleet,* and imagined that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land ; but he learned to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions ; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster, however, did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men should make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved, if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprised him, when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the meantime Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.†

* The great prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely. In a conversation upon a sea-fight, he said, that he should be very glad to see one, merely for his own instruction. A sea-officer, who was present, replied, " sir, were your highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders." " My orders !" interrupted the prince ; " I should not presume even to give my advice ; but should stand quietly on the deck, and observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction."

† A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363. 364

Philopœmer saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent; and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and, while they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and morasses with which it abounded, the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy: but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire toward the city in small parties, he posted ambuscades in all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis saved scarcely a fourth part of his army. Philopœmen, having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him, and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult pass, he halted, and asked himself, in case he were alone, or else inquired of those who were with him, in what manner it would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in less order, as when an army is on its march; what post would it be proper for him to take? In what places to dispose his baggage, and how many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could best secure his forage, and provide water? What rout he should take the next day, after he should decamp, and in what order it were best to march? He had accustomed himself so early, and exercised himself so much, in all those parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and he never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident, but resolved and acted immediately, as if he had foreseen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain; but the only method to be such, is to be attached to one's profession, to think it an honour to improve it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip, king of Macedonia, on Nabis, king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare against them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition: that this would be the finest opportunity for him to

possess himself of it : that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms ; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This soothing description of the state of the Grecian affairs, made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarcely give himself time to deliberate in what matter it would be most proper for him to act.*

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given them as a hostage ; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he suffered to escape from him some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude, Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors, with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people, the rancour of one man, who, he said, ought only to be answerable for it : that the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most valuable and dear among men : that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives, than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech ; and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge among the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, had returned from the court of Antiochus, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land ; his numerous bodies of horse and foot ; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India ; and above all, which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace, the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as lost on that side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the blame still more upon the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assemblies some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever the ambassador of Antiochus might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians ; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, considering them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by stating that an ambassador had arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced ; that then, all people would have preserved their rights, and all had not been subjected to the Roman power. " But still," said he, " if you execute the designs you have formed, Antiochus may, by the assistance of the gods, and your aid, restore the affairs of Greece to their ancient splendour, however desperate their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves, without saying a word of the king, with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any rash resolution, in an affair of so much importance as that in question: that bold resolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: that the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: that as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims and pretensions, than to involve precipitately, Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever captivated by novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly; so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their influence, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not so much from any hopes he entertained of being able to make the least impression on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the sole cause of the war which was about to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their will, and merely through necessity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans: he slightly mentioned the many things by which they had infringed it: and, after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of the quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints, than out of mere wantonness, to excite a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the world, and inevitably terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which, however, were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in the presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus, then in office, was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry his decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tiber: so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

The Ætolian privy council formed, in one day, the very astonishing resolutions of seizing, by a treacherous stratagem, Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.*

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by the faction of Eurylochus, who was an exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile; for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good state of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thoas thus failing in his design, returned in the utmost confusion.

The enterprise against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thousand foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, whatever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes having given the word to his cavalry, he attacked Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and threw him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fell upon and covered him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returned to the city to seize on the palace of Nabis. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta would have declared for the Ætolians; but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans, taking up arms, made a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and marched directly to the palace, where they killed Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of the death of Nabis, than he marched a considerable body of troops toward Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged the city to join in the Achæan league.*

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of such great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the most worthy men in Lacedæmon, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a public decree, to make him a present of the moneys arising from that sale, amounting to one hundred and twenty talents; and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great man was of the purest and most perfect kind; and that he not only appeared good and virtuous, but was really so; not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore, it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, which rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he had come to offer him; so that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured, but with great pain to himself, to acquaint Philopœmen with the good will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta, where, after expressing the highest gratitude to

* Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expense to them; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses; that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. "For it is much more adviseable," added he, "to stop the mouth of an enemy, than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those grovelling wretches, whose whole study is to heap up riches.

Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially by the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the east, brought only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had his object only been to possess himself of a naked and defenceless country, without being opposed by so formidable an enemy as the Romans.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for having brought with him fewer troops than they had expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he set out, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men, and horses, and all the seacoast covered with galleys: that he would spare neither expense, nor application, nor be deterred by danger, in the deliverance of Greece, and in acquiring for the Ætolians the first rank: that with his numerous armies, there would arrive from Asia, munitions of every kind: that all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech, he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of a real and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had only chosen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. But, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECTION VI.—ANTIOCHUS POSSESSES HIMSELF OF CHALCIS AND ALL EUBŒA. THE ROMANS PROCLAIM WAR AGAINST HIM.

THE first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was, what enterprise they should first undertake. It was thought adviseable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis as came

forth on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done: that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, because the one would always defend them against the other, and by this means they would hold both in respect: that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance, whereas the king was present, and at their gates.*

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not imagine what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and come into Greece: that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppressed by them: that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans: that they did not refuse the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island: that they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them but in concert with the Romans.

This answer was reported to the king. As he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a step at the commencement, did him no honour, and gave them little to hope in regard to the future.

They had recourse elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus, and those of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their assembly was held, in presence of Quintius, the Roman general.

The ambassador of Antiochus spoke first. He was a vain man, as those generally are who live in courts, and at the expense of princes; and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an absolute and emphatical tone of voice.† He told them, that a great body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry: the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed that it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Arcadians and the Sidetes of Pamphylia; nations, who were universally allowed to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him; every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold; that they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: that the Romans would not have to contend with a Philip or a Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe: that, although he came from the most remote parts of the east, merely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might ima-

* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46—51. Appian. in Syr. p. 92, 93.

† Is, ut plerique quos opes regie alunt, vaniloquus, maria terrasque inani sonitu verborum compleve-

gine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies : that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to remain neutral.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect : adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then, growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle worthy a great captain ? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a priest, while he was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech ; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to gain their esteem ; but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and, by their means, with the king himself ; that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it clearly ; that on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed ; that, vaunting of troops they had not, they encouraged the vanity of each other by false promises and idle hopes ; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side, as you have just now heard, that they had defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans, and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia ; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleets. " This," said he, " puts me in mind of an entertainment given me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy man, who treated his guests in the best manner. Surprised at the number and variety of dishes that were served up, we asked him how it was possible for him, in the month of June, to get together so great a quantity of game. My friend, who was not vain-glorious like these people, only laughed, and openly acknowledged, that what we took for venison, was no other than swine's flesh, seasoned several ways, and dressed with different sauces. The same may be said of the king's troops, which have been so highly extolled, and whose number has been vainly multiplied in high sounding words. For these Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and Elymæans, all form but one nation, and a nation of slaves rather than soldiers. Why may not I, Achæans, represent to you all the motions and expeditions of this great king, who one moment hurries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for provisions and money ; and the next, goes in person to the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has very injudiciously given credit to the Ætolians ; and they, with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus. This ought to teach you, not to suffer yourselves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the faith of the Romans which you have so often experienced. I am surprised they can venture to tell you, that it will be safest for you to stand neutral, and to remain only spectators of the war. That would, indeed, be a sure method, in my opinion, to become the prey of the victor."

The Achæans did not occupy a long time ; nor were they divided in their deliberations, and the result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately at the request of Quintius, they sent five hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who answered that they would consider on what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time, Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. The faction opposed to the Romans, prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest where there are no enemies to make opposition?

But great preparations were making against that prince. The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods, by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods.* What a reproach would so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

At the same time, they neglected no human means for their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it at the same time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius, the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brundisium, on the fifteenth of May; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time, ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Massinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that, upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time, Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was about to be opened. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began, by insisting on the necessity there was to use the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in the interest of Antiochus; which, he said, was so important a step, that if he succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," said he, "as Philip sustained so long the whole weight of the Roman power, what may not be expected from a war, in which the two greatest kings of Europe and Asia will unite their forces; especially, as the Romans will be opposed in it by those who gave them the superiority before; I mean the Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom, as is well known, they were indebted for victory? Now, who can doubt that Philip may easily be brought over from the Roman interest, if what Thoas so often repeated to the king, in order to induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly incensed to see himself reduced to a shameful servitude under the name of peace, waited only an opportunity to declare himself? And, could he ever hope for one more favourable than that which now offers itself?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means, to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which

* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xvi. n. 1—15. Appian in Syr. p. 93—95.

had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there. That since another course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece; it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king should send immediately for all his troops out of Asia; and not rely on the *Ætoli*ans, or his other allies of Greece, who might possibly fail him on a sudden. That the instant those forces should arrive, it was proper to march toward those coasts of Greece, opposite to Italy, and order his fleet also to sail thither. That he should employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy, and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, as if on the point of crossing into Italy; and actually to do so, in case a favourable opportunity should present itself. By this means, said he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of defending their own coasts; and, at the same time, it will be the best method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place, in his opinion, where the Romans could be conquered. "These," concluded Hannibal, "are my thoughts; and if I am not so well qualified for presiding in another war, I ought at least to have learned, by my good and ill successes, how to act in the field against the Romans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended on. As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your undertakings, whatever they may be."

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had said, and indeed, it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. He, however, complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia, immediately sending orders to Polyxenides, his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him, that he could not fail of being victorious. They observed farther, that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason, it was necessary for him to draw up a different plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best councils lost, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, took several cities of Thessaly; he was, however, obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, *Bebius*, the Roman prætor having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to *Demetrias*.

From thence he went to *Chalcis*, where he fell distractedly in love with the daughter of the man at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterprises he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned a general neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought that *Acilius* the consul was advancing toward him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence. The king immediately set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field, the king then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the great promises of *Thoas*; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of *Thermopylæ*, and send to the *Ætoli*ans for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which *Polyxenides* was bringing, and the king had only those troops he had brought the year before, which scarcely exceeded ten thousand men.

Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him. Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by reminding them of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs than Antiochus, who being recently married, and enervated by pleasures and voluptuousness, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had despatched Cato, his lieutenant, with a large detachment, in quest of some by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains, through the same path where Xerxes and Brennus afterwards, opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers, whom he met there, he soon put them to flight. Immediately, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and advanced at the head of his detachment, sword in hand, and with loud shouts. A body of six hundred Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, fled, and retired toward their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant the consul attacked the intrenchments of Antiochus with all his troops, and forced them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, suffered such excessive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now universally routed in a place where there was scarcely an outlet to escape through; for, on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks, so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward, to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished.*

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still heated and cut of breath; and cried out aloud in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time, the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all the forces of Antiochus, five hundred excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general, to do justice in this manner to virtue, and not to harbour any thing so mean as jealousy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had very much doubted the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often admired, to see the heathens so very careful in beginning and ending all their wars with solemn acts of religion—endeavouring, in the first place, by vows and sacrifices, to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards, returning them public and solemn thanks for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which, of the same antiquity with the world, has been preserved by all nations, that there is a Supreme Being, and a Providence who presides over all human events.

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96—98

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The consul, after his victory, discovered such a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself.*

Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: that it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: that to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistas, catapultas, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with an almost irresistible impetuosity, for they fought in the deepest despair. They burned in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for twenty-four days, without the least intermission either day or night.†

It was evident, that as the garrison was far inferior in numbers to the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. The consul now formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians not doubting that this proceeded from the over fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight as usual, at three that morning he assaulted the city in three places only; placing, at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who rose from their slumbers, ran confusedly wherever the noise called them. At daybreak, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long, and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who, in the beginning of the war, had answered Quintius, "that he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he had just before called in Antiochus."

At the same time Philip was besieging Lamia‡, which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour; gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who staid very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

* Multo modestior post victoriam, quam ipso victoria, laudabilior.—Liv.

† Liv. l. xxxvi. p. 22—26.

‡ Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phlœotis.

The Ætoliāns, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclæa, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.*

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætoliāns had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost all the people in the same fate. The treatment which Quintius had met with from the Ætoliāns, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. He however, was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands toward Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved by their condition, even to shedding tears, expressed, by his gesture, that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion on them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, directed them to send deputies to him; when Phineas and the principal citizens immediately came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture, "Your calamity," said he, "banishes from my mind all thoughts of resentment and revenge. You now find that all things have happened as I foretold you they would; and you have not the consolation of being able to say, that none of these misfortunes were owing to yourselves. But destined as I am, by Providence to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute, therefore, some persons to the consul, and beg a truce for as much time as may suffice for sending ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your submissions to the senate. I will be your mediator and advocate with the consul." They followed the advice of Quintius in every thing. The consul granted them a truce, broke up the siege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods in the capitol. They were received there with the highest marks of distinction; and the Romans gave up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had been a hostage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in Greece.

SECTION VII.—POLYXENIDES DEFEATED BY LIVIUS. L. SCAPIO CARRIES ON THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, AND DEFEATS HIM NEAR MAGNESIA.

WHILE the affairs I have just related were passing in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed at Ephesus; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who, they declared, did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering

himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.*

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops, which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lysimachus, Sestus, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which had just before arrived in the Ægean Sea, and to attack it. They met near Moun: Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides; but at last Polyxenides was vanquished, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Canna, in Ætolia, drew their ships ashore, and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the winter.

Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched toward the coast, and resolved to equip another, so powerful as to be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in person with the rest into winter-quarters in Phrygia.†

During these transactions, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who had returned from Greece, employed all his influence in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people so very untractable, that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option: these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate, or to pay a thousand talents, and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans should consider as such. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew, without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.‡

The next year, the Romans gave the command of the land armies, which had been under Acilius, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, was transferred from Livius to L. Æmilius Rhenillus.§

The consul, on arriving in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another; but wholly attentive to his principal object, after granting the Ætolians a truce for six months, in order that they might have

* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian. in Syr. p. 99.
Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian in Syr. p. 100. † Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.
‡ A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1—5 Appian. in Syr. p. 99, 100

full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. He however, thought it advisable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal magnificence. In the entertainments he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air, and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.*

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests, the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is ordinary, and in some measure pardonable on these occasions, and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince, and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own; but, at the same time, was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging manners of the master of the feast, and by the care he took to set before his guests, with taste and decorum, whatever might be most agreeable to them. "*Multa in eo dexteritas et humanitas visa.*" These personal qualities, in the sense of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusion could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had invested him with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army, and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were superior to his own; and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality, it was scarcely possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans, for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on, and submit to others.

In the mean time, the Roman fleet advanced toward Thrace, to favour the passage of the consul's army into Asia. Polyxenides, the admiral of Antiochus, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem, defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or sunk twenty-nine of his ships; and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only their revenge; and, with incredible despatch, they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed toward Elea, to aid Eumenes, who was besieged in his capital by Seleucus. This

* *Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia, apud Africanum erant; virum sicut cætera egregium: ita a comitate quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum.*—Livy.

succour arrived very opportunely ; Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes, the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with one thousand foot and one hundred horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.*

The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king, the fleets of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians alone fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the skill of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megista, near Patara ; and there blocked him up so close, as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the king.†

The news of this defeat reached Antiochus, nearly at the same time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont, and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible means for preventing it.

He sent ambassadors to Prusias, king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were directed to explain, in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences of that enterprise : that they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingdoms in the world, and subject them to the empire of the Romans : that after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they had resolved to attack him : that should he have the ill-fortune to be overcome, the fire spreading, would soon reach Bithynia : that no aid could be expected from Eumenes, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and, with his own hands, put on the Roman chains.‡

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters he received at the same time from Scipio the consul, and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance ; and he mentioned several examples in which he himself had been concerned. He said, that in Spain, several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, had since become great kings ; that Masinissa had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, which made him one of the most powerful princes in the world ; that Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones ; that, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay was remitted, and his son, who was a hostage in Rome, sent back to him ; that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious ; and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king, being disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined, that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the superiority at sea, of which he had been deprived by the loss of the two battles related above ; that then he might employ his fleets against whom, and in

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9—11, et n. 13—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—103.

† Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian in Syr. p. 100. Corn. Nep. in Hannib. c. 8.

‡ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. o. 2.

what manner he pleased ; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed in preventing it. Antiochus therefore resolved to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it in the best manner in his power, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary for another engagement, and sent it once more, under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. He was induced to this resolution by receiving advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara ; and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus, to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked it with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burned twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that he seemed entirely disconcerted ; and, as if he had been deprived of his senses, he on a sudden took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. in his consternation, he sent orders for drawing his forces out of Lysimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching toward those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia ; whereas the only probable means of preventing that, would have been, to leave those troops in the places where they were. For, Lysimachia being very strongly fortified, might have maintained a long siege, and perhaps very far in the winter ; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by their want of provisions and forage ; and during the interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.*

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops abandoned all the ammunition and provisions, of which he had laid up very considerable quantities, behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army ; and at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very part where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here a sensible image of what is so often mentioned in the scripture, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. "For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water. The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient. The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator."† But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that "God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason ; a punishment," says he, "that always happens, when men are on the point of falling into some great calamity."‡ The expression is very strong, "God overthrew the king's reason." He took from him, that is, he refused him, sense, prudence, and judgment : he banished from his mind every salutary thought ; he confused him, and

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31. Appian. in Syr. p. 105.

† Isaiah. iii. 1, 2, 3.

‡ Οὗτοί ἐλάττωσαν ἥδη τὴν λογισμὸν ὅτι ἀπὸ πρᾶσιοντων ἀτυχμάτων ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν διάπλουν φύλιν ἰφύλαξεν ὑπὸ δουλοκρατίας.

made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what David besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel, Absalom's minister: "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness."* The word in the Latin version is very strong, *INFATUA*: the import of which is, however prudent his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahitophel; for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom."

The Romans, on arriving in Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, as fathers with children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the west and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome: and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.†

When advice was brought to Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army, it having halted for several days that were the festival days at Rome, in which the sacred shields, called *Ancilia*, were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, or priests of Mars, whose office it was to keep these shields, had not yet crossed the sea; for, being one of the *Salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was celebrated; so that the army was obliged to wait for him. How greatly is it to be regretted, that persons of so much religion were no better enlightened, and directed their worship to such improper objects! This delay gave the king some hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would attack him. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered, both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation; especially as he had a present to make to him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Orcum, according to Livy.‡

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the speaker in this embassy, opened the speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace, between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed: that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia: that as to Smyrna, Lampsacus, and

* *Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel.*—*Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel utile, ut induceret Dominus super Absalom malum.* 2 King. c. xv. 31. et xvii. 14. "O Lord, I pray thee turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness." 2 Sam. c. xiv. 31. "For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom." Ch. p. xvii. p. 1.

† Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 23. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 7, 8. Appian. in c. p. 105—110.

Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand of him : that he would consent to refund the Romans half the expenses of this war. He concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitudes of human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity : that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire : that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected ; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expenses of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expense : they were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia ; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side Mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money ; and assured him, that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power, if he would mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer : " I am not surprised to find you unacquainted both with me and the Romans, as you do not even know the condition of the prince who sent you hither. If, as you assert, the uncertainty of the fate of war should prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms, your sovereign should have kept possession of Lysimachia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus ; or he should have met us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the yoke on his own neck ; so that all he now has to do, is, to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with that which relates to the giving me back my son : I hope the rest will not have the power to tempt me. As a private man, I can promise to preserve eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so precious a gift as he offers me in my son ; but as a public one, he must expect nothing from me. Go, therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms ; and not reject any articles of peace which may be proposed to him. This is the best advice I could give him as a good and faithful friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him ; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He, therefore, prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where, hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, " Go," says he to the envoys, " and thank the king from me ; and tell him, that at present, the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude, is, to advise him not to fight, till he hears of my having arrived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay of some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of the forces of Antiochus, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately, yet the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he con-

sidered as his last refuge, in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the river Phrygius, which is supposed to be the Hermus, and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus; where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants; that of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but thirty thousand men, and sixteen elephants. The consul, finding that the king lay still, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was approaching, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter quarters, to discontinue the war until the following year. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments; to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army toward it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers, and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of five thousand four hundred men each, and two such bodies of Latin infantry. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended toward the river. The first line of the centre was composed of pikemen, or hastati; the second of principes, and the third of triarii: these, properly speaking, composed the main body.* On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line, three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, three thousand horse, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart; but, for greater security, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The sixteen elephants were posted behind the triarii, as a corps-de-reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was this which formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their

* These are the names of the three different bodies of troops of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx was drawn up, in a column, part of the cavalry, one thousand five hundred Asiatic Gauls, three thousand cuirassiers armed cap-a-pie, and one thousand horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants was posted next in files. A little beyond, was the king's regiment, composed of the argyraspides, so called from their arms being of silver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen; to whom were added two thousand five hundred Mysians. Then three thousand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrtians and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up in nearly the same manner, except that, before part of the cavalry, were posted the chariots armed with scythes; with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose swords, made thin, in order that the riders might reach down from the backs of these beasts, were six feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp, occasioned by this fog, greatly relaxed the bow-strings, the slings, and the thongs or straps called amenta, which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer the same disadvantages, because they used scarcely any but heavy arms, swords, and javelins; and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the more easily see one another.

The chariots armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. Eumenes, who well knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers and horsemen, who discharge javelins; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons; and to pour on them, from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, ran away with the chariots, scoured the field on all sides, and turned against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fought hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army; for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broken and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack; so that they were broken immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it in disorder. The Roman legions now charged it advantageously; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge among them, and prevented their fighting, while the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa against those animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore thrown into disorder, and the Romans were on the point of surrounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it sufficiently defended by the river, charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy armed horse, not only in front, but in flank; because the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired upon the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been thrown into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had remained to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying toward it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. He also commanded his soldiers to sheathe their swords in all they met, who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halted, and afterwards returned to the battle. Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of two thousand brave, well-disciplined men, opposed the king, who was vigorously pursuing those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advanced over heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plundered it.

It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body, the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well-disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no use; and he filled up the rest of the front with new raised troops, without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. This, however, was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.*

There fell this day, in the battle, in the pursuit, and the plunder of the camp, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse: fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, with fifteen elephants, and their guides. The Romans lost but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horse: Eumenes lost twenty-five. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, to which place he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in the battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

The instant Antiochus arrived at Antioch, he sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You have always," said he to them, "pardoned with greatness of mind, the kings and nations you have conquered. How much more should you be induced

to do this, after a victory which gives you the empire of the world. Hence forward, having become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the good of the human race your sole study for the future.”*

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the contrary, they were never too elate with prosperity; that therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle; that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side Mount Taurus; that he should pay all the expenses of the war, which were computed at fifteen thousand Eubœan talents,† and the payments were settled as follow; five hundred talents to be paid down; two thousand five hundred when the senate should have ratified the treaty; and the rest in twelve years, a thousand talents every year: that he should pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the residue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he shou'd deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, “The Romans cannot persuade themselves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore demand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as also Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent in exciting this war.” All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to inform the senate of the particulars of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia also went. Soon after, the five hundred talents were paid to the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty, Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, fearing that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, and they declared impudently that it was so, they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.‡

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and then to the ambassadors. At this audience, one

* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 24. Appian, in Syr. p. 110—113.

† Fifteen thousand Attic talents amount to nearly nine millions of dollars. Those of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were something less.

‡ A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 25. Appian, in Syr. p. 116.

of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty is precious and dear to all men : but the Greeks, in particular, were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors, and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to Grecian history will show, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprises and wars ; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip, and Alexander, his son, gave the first blow to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a short time before restored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip, king of Macedon. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that favour for the Greeks of Asia ; and it was immediately the interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This is the subject on which the senate were now to debate, and the decision of which held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, opened his speech with a short compliment to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom, by Antiochus ; and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprises of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms, both by sea and land ; and on the famous victory they had just before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as from all Asia, situated on this side of Mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself, and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals, than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded ; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to ask of them ; assuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations toward him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompence was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free, as to ask that venerable body what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands ; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected to be gratified in all he should require, he thought it most adviseable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution ; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He, therefore, was brought in again, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech. " I should have still continued silent, did I not know that the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will soon admit to audience, will make such demands as are directly contrary to my interest. They will plead, in your presence, the cause of all the Grecian cities of Asia, and pretend that they ought all to be declared free. Can it be doubted that their intention in this is, to deprive me, not only of those cities which will be delivered, but even of such as were anciently my tributaries ; and that their view is, by so signal a service, to subject them effectually to themselves, under the specious title of confederate cities ? They will not fail to expatiate strongly on their own disinterestedness ; and to say, that they do not speak for themselves, but merely for your glory and reputation. You, therefore, will certainly not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such discourse ; and are far from designing, either to discover an affected inequality toward your al

lies, by humbling some, and raising others in an immoderate degree; or to allow better conditions to those who carried arms against you, than to such as have always been your friends and allies. With regard to my particular pretensions, and my personal interest, these I can easily give up; but as to your kindness, and the marks of friendship with which you have been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I cannot, without pain, see others triumph over me in that particular. This is the most precious part of the inheritance I received from my father, who was the first potentate in all Greece and Asia; who had the advantage of concluding an alliance, and of joining in friendship with you; and who cultivated it with an inviolable constancy and fidelity to his latest breath. He was far from confining himself in those points to mere protestations of kindness and good will. In all the wars you made in Greece, whether by sea or land, he constantly followed your standards, and aided you with all his forces, with such a zeal as none of your allies can boast. It may even be said, that his attachment to your interest, in the last and strongest proof he gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death: for the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the Bœotians to engage in alliance with you, occasioned the fatal accident that brought him to his end in a few days. I always thought it my duty to follow his steps, firmly persuaded that nothing could be more honourable. It indeed was not possible for me to exceed him in zeal and attachment to your service; but the posture of affairs, and the war against Antiochus, have furnished me more opportunities than my father had, of giving you proofs of this. That prince, who was very powerful in Europe, as well as Asia, offered me his daughter in marriage; he engaged himself to recover all those cities which had revolted from me: he promised to add considerable countries to my dominions, upon condition that I should join with him against you. I will not assume any honour to myself for not accepting offers which tended to alienate me from your friendship; and, indeed, how would it have been possible for me to do this? I will only take notice of what I thought myself bound to do in your favour, as one who was your ancient friend and ally. I assisted your generals both by sea and land, with a far greater number of troops, as well as a much larger quantity of provisions, than any of your allies. I was present in all your naval engagements, and these were many; and have spared myself no toils nor dangers. I suffered the hardships of a siege, the most grievous condition of war, and was blocked up in Pergamus, exposed every moment to the loss of my crown and life. Having disengaged myself from this siege, while Antiochus on one side, and Seleucus, his son, on the other, were still encamped in my dominions; neglecting entirely my own interest, I sailed with all my fleet to the Hellespont, to meet Scipio, your consul, purposely to assist him in passing it. I never quitted the consul after his arrival in Asia: not a soldier in your camp has exerted himself more than my brother and myself. I have been present in every action, whether of foot or horse. In the last engagement, I defended the post which the consul assigned me. I will not ask whether, in this particular, any of your allies deserved to be compared with me. One thing I will be so confident as to assert, namely, that I may claim an equality with any of those kings or states, on whom you have bestowed the highest marks of your favour. Masinissa had been your enemy before he became your ally; he did not come over to you with powerful aids, and at a time when he enjoyed the full possession of his kingdom, but an exile, driven from his kingdom, plundered of all his possessions, and deprived of all his forces, he fled to your camp with a squadron of horse, in order to seek an asylum, as well as aid, in his misfortunes. But, because he has since served you faithfully against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you have not only restored him to the throne of his ancestors, but, by bestowing on him a great part of the kingdom of Syphax, you have made him one of the most powerful monarchs of Africa. What, therefore, may we not expect from your liberality; we, who have ever

been your allies, and never your enemies? My father, my brothers, and myself, have on all occasions drawn our swords in your cause both by sea and land, not only in Asia, but at a great distance from our native country, in Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and Ætolia, during the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Perhaps some one may ask, what are your pretensions? Since you force me to explain myself, they are as follows. If, in repulsing Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus, your intention was to seize upon that country, in order to unite it to your empire, I could not wish for better neighbours; none being more able to secure my dominions. But if you are resolved to resign it, and to recall your armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that none of your allies deserve greater advantages from you than myself. Yet some may observe, that it is great and glorious to deliver cities from slavery, and to restore them their liberty. I grant it, provided they had never exercised hostilities against you. But then, if they have been so far attached to the interest of Antiochus, will it not be much more worthy of your wisdom and justice, to bestow your favour on allies who have served you faithfully, than on enemies, who have used their endeavours to destroy you?"

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king's harangue; and showed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their animosity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus: "Nothing," said he, addressing himself to the senators, "grieves us so much at this time, as to find ourselves obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that prince for whom, both our republic and ourselves have the most faithful and cordial respect. The circumstance which divides and separates us on this occasion, does not proceed from a disparity of minds, but from a difference of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. It is natural that we, being a free people, should plead for the liberty of others; and that kings should endeavour to make all things pay homage to their sovereign sway. However this may be, the circumstance which perplexes us on this occasion, is not so much the affair in itself, which seems to be of such a nature, that you cannot be very much divided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought to show to so august a prince as Eumenes. If there were no other way of acknowledging the important services of a king, your confederate and ally, but in subjecting free cities to his power, you then might be doubtful, from the fear you might be under, either of not discovering sufficient gratitude to a prince who is your friend, or of renouncing your principles, and the glory which you have acquired in the war against Philip, by restoring all the Grecian cities to their liberty. But fortune has placed you in such a condition, as not to fear either of those inconveniences. The immortal gods be praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables you to acquit yourselves easily of what you call a debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, Chersonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are subjected by you. One of these provinces is alone capable of enlarging considerably the dominions of Eumenes, but all of them together will make him equal to the most powerful kings. You therefore may, at one and the same time, recompense very largely your allies, and not depart from the maxims which form the glory of your empire. The same motive prompted you to march against Philip and Antiochus. As the cause is the same, the like issue is expected; not only because you yourselves have already set the example, but because your honour requires it. Others engage in war, merely to dispossess their neighbours of some country, some city, fortress, or seaport; but you, Romans! never drew the sword from such motives; when you fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance which inspires all nations with a reverence and awe for your name and empire, almost equal to that which is paid to the gods. The business is to pre-

serve that glory. You have undertaken to rescue from the bondage of kings, and to restore to its ancient liberty, a nation famous for its antiquity ; and still more renowned for its glorious actions, and its exquisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is the whole nation you have taken under your protection, and you have promised it to them to the end of time. The cities situated in Greece itself, are not more Grecian than the colonies they settled in Asia. A change of country has not wrought any alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek cities in Asia, have endeavoured to rival our ancestors and founders in virtue and in knowledge. Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities of Greece and Asia ; the only difference is, that we are situated at a farther distance from Rome. If a difference in climate should change the nature and dispositions of men, the inhabitants of Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous nations, should necessarily have long since degenerated ; and yet we are informed, that you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived in the centre of Greece. And indeed, they have retained, not only the sound of the language, the dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks ; but have also preserved still more their manners, laws, and genius, and all these pure and uncorrupted by their correspondence with the neighbouring nations. Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire. Every country on this side of it, should not appear remote from you. Wherever you have carried your arms, convey thither also the genius and form of your government. Let the barbarians, who are accustomed to slavery, continue under the empire of kings, since it is grateful to them. The Greeks, in the mediocrity of their present condition, think it glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength was sufficient to secure the empire to them ; but now, they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for ever by those people, with whom they have placed it. All they desire is, that you would be pleased to protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties, as they are now no longer able to defend them by their own. But, it may be said, some of those cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others favoured Philip also ; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus ? To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider, Romans ! the engagements which this example lays you under. Will you grant to the ambition of Eumenes, (I beg his pardon for the expression,) what you refused to your own just indignation ? As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars which you have carried on in our countries, we have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful allies ; and you are to judge whether we have really been such. Now we enjoy peace, we are so free as to give you a counsel which must necessarily be glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demonstrate to the universe, that however nobly you obtain victories, you know how to make a still nobler use of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself on this occasion divided between different sentiments and duties, of the importance and justice of which they were sensible, but which, at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile. On one side, gratitude, with regard to the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds ; on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought, that the sole view of their undertaking this war was to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed that the motives on both sides were very strong. The restoration of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired for the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But, it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes ; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advan-

tage. The wisdom of the senate devised means to conciliate these different duties.

The ambassadors of Antiochus were brought in after those of Rhodes ; and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and, accordingly, some days after, it was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made them was, that the senate would despatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to inquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was resolved that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes ; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting the ambassadors of Antiochus on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request ; because Soles, situated beyond Mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty ; but that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, again returning the most sincere thanks to the Romans, for the great favours they had shown them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus ; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to aggrandize their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures ; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued it.* Asia, vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices.† Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour consisted. Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her, in her train, irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havoc in the city than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.‡

* Plin. l. xiii. c. 2.

† Armis vicit vitis victus est. Senec. de Alex.

‡ Prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi frugerunt secula luxu
Divitæ molles—
Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit—
Savior armis.
Luxuria incubat, victurque nunciscitur orbem.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE ROMANS RESPECTING THE GRECIAN STATES, AND THE KINGS OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

THE reader may perceive in the events above related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe; I mean a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself by degrees; and it is only by an insensible progress, which at the same time is sufficiently rapid, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on some occasions, show a moderation and disinterestedness, which from a superficial view, seem to exceed every thing we meet with in history, and which we feel it incumbent on us to praise.

Was there ever a more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war, after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures, caused a herald to proclaim in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a degree of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such exalted sentiments, nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded on a profound policy; wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but, at the same time, very remote from that noble disinterestedness so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former, to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty, and the latter, to complete their subjection. The Romans, perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that there was no necessity of apprehending any difficulty from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well-disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war; which had continually in view the glory of her former monarchs; which had formerly extended her conquests to the extremities of the globe; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire, of attaining universal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy; Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to the Romans, who, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To balance, therefore, the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose his common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans, they declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to

take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and farther, to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, as a reward for their fidelity; I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous, and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and as eagerly swallowed by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther. But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them, discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and, accordingly, they exhorted the people from time to time, in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the west; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation toward such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose among them; and did not demand the least recompense for all these services done for their allies. By these means, their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

Under the pretence of manifesting their good will, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty, and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freed-men. They used to depute commissioners to them, to inquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels; but when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards, they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators having become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance. Thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings, and from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, to bestow them on their allies, from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were in no way formidable to them; and weakened others, whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans were empowered to assume so haughty an ascendancy over them; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct: whether they would be pleased should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to inquire into their affairs; and whether there ought not to be an equality between them. All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable, and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the less formidable; they

gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered, in some measure, sacred and inviolable, and was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves; they increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection, which had raised the kingdom of Pergamus to such a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates who divided Europe and Asia. And how haughtily did they treat them even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it; how imperious was this! But, how did they treat vanquished kings? They commanded them to deliver up their children, and the heirs of their crowns, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; obliged them to lay down their arms; forbade them to declare war, or to conclude any alliance, without first obtaining their leave; banished them to the other side of the mountains; and left them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of its rights and advantages.

We have no room to doubt that Providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur; but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, that it will appear that they acted as if they had a foreknowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it may, we see, by the event, to what this so much boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations, having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy, looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped, with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world; they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, than those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECTION VIII.—ÆTOLIANS AND ASIATIC GAULS SUBDUED BY FULVIUS AND MANLIUS. DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS, AND DANIEL'S PROPHECY.

DURING the expedition of the Romans in Asia, some commotions had happened in Greece. Amyntander, by the aid of the Ætolians, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons which held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints against that prince.*

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success; but, when they heard of the defeat of Antiochus, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to entreaties; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were about to send to Rome, to sue for peace.

* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. xxxviii. b. 1—11 Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26—29

The consul on arriving in Greece, had, in conjunction with the Epirots, laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætolians, who made a vigorous defence. Being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynder had also repaired. The latter, having great influence in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follows: they should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans; should pay them a thousand talents of silver, one half immediately; should restore both to the Romans, and their allies, all the deserters and prisoners; should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans; in fine, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors having arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip, in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them; and therefore they ratified the treaty, conformably to the conditions which the consul had prescribed.

The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight; which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephallenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, regretted what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.*

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league: and that very year he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion: and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just, yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion.

The affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and, at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked in the night one of those towns, called Las, and carried it, but were soon after driven out of it. This enterprise alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse

to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles, and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans having put the towns and castles of the seacoast of Laconia, under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbidden the Lacedæmonians access to it, and the latter having attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants, the Achæan assembly demanded that the instigators of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violaters of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians, and they immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to entreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been done in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land, the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.*

When the consul arrived in Peloponnesus, he heard both parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome; and they accordingly repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome, but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer, which has not come down to us, whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprise against the town of Las; declaring that they should not be condemned or punished, till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly, set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. On reaching the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprised to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claim the right of nations; the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy-three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms.

The Achæans imposed the same conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders, that the walls should be demolished: that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service, should leave Laconia: that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty, and there were a great number of them, should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried wherever they thought proper: that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled: in fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians, were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls, with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them; and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence than the bravery of its citizens.* Pausanias † informs us, that the walls of Sparta were first commenced in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. ‡ Livy relates also, that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls, all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, who had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.§

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta, does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, is a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had at their head Agesipolis, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged, and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but so open a violation of the laws of nations, to which Philopœmen at least gave occasion, if he did not consent to it, cannot be excused in any manner.

It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. || At last, Lepidus the consul, wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct. ¶

In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia Minor, called from their name Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia; and formed three bodies, three different

* *Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum; aliora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur* -Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum et veterum majorum gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum præstitio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse a majoribus, ut cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerat, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent—Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† In Achaicac. p. 412.

‡ Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls at the time when Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

§ Nulla restanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata. -Liv

¶ Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii.

¶ A. M. 3817. Ant J. C. 187

states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the surrounding nations, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; his brother Attalus, however, supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am not surprised," said he, "that the Gauls should have made their names formidable, and spread the strongest terror in the minds of nations of so soft and effeminate a cast as the Asiatics. Their tall stature, their fair flowing hair, which descends to their waists, their unwieldy bucklers, their long swords; add to this, their songs, their cries and howlings, at the first onset, the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields; all this may, indeed, intimidate men not accustomed to them, but not you, Romans! whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first impetuosity, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily strength; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust, and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink down quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these the ancient Gauls, inured to fatigue and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and delicacy of the people among whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated them. They now are no more than Phrygians in Gallic armour; and the only circumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much honour by the defeat of a ramble of enemies, so unworthy of disputing victory with Romans."*

After Manlius had ended this speech, the army discovered by their shouts, how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. The consul, far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those barbarians. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there from the river Halys to Mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia Minor. We are told that Antiochus said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country had brought upon him.†

The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. He, and Manlius, his colleague, were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.*

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important article of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans six hundred talents, for having assisted Antiochus; half this sum, however, was accepted, at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled the chief difficulties.

Antiochus was greatly perplexed to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces to levy the tribute, which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus, his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir.† When he arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a powerful temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. The people, exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him, with all his followers. Aurelius Victor says, that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.‡

This prince was highly worthy of praise for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them, not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty, he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprises, and acquired him the title of the Great. But from that time his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped from the wise counsels of Hannibal, or rather the contempt with which he treated them; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept; these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprise, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

“But his sons,” of the king of the North, “shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one,” Antiochus the Great, “shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortress.”§ This king of the North was Seleucus Callicnicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great.|| The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is, of Egypt; dispossessed him of Coelosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy’s generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœ-

* A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 187. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 55.

† A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in Egypt. c. p. 292. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 2.

‡ De Viris Illust. c. liv.

§ Ver. 19.

|| Hieron. in Dan. c. v.

¶ See ver. 2.

ricia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. "He," meaning Antiochus, "shall come. He shall overflow" the enemy's country. "He shall pass over" Mount Libanus. "He shall halt," while overtures of peace are made to him. "He shall advance with ardour as far as the fortresses," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

"And the king of the South shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth, and shall fight with him, even with the king of the North; and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand."* Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: "provocatus." At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and, by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

"And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it."† Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched, after his victory, to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary, "his heart shall be lifted up;" and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride toward the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses: "but he shall not be strengthened by it."

"For the king of the North shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches."‡ Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

"And in those times, there shall many stand up against the king of the South."§ This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt; by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and his life. "Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall."|| Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was of short duration; for, when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated, or drove out of the country, all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities which Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostasy.

"So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand.¶ But he

* Ver. 11.

† Ver. 12.

‡ Ver. 13.

§ Ver. 14.

¶ The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

¶ Ver 15

that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him : and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.”* Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. “He did according to his own will,” in Cœlosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, “the glorious,” or, according to the Hebrew, “that desirable land.” He there established his authority, and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem, the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all the troops in order to force it, and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and consumed by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

“He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him ; thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her ; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.”† Antiochus, seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to “corrupt her,” and excite her to betray her husband ; but he was not successful in his design ; for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father’s interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her join with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.‡

“After this he shall turn his face into the isles, and shall take many ; but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease ; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.”§ Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœlosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land-army, to Sardis, while he embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, the prince of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio, the Roman consul, caused the reproach to turn upon him, by defeating him at Mount Sipilus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia Minor.

“Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land ; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.”|| Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the east, in order to levy money to pay the Romans : but having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in most places according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and variously interpreted by commentators ; but is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful ? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity ? Can any light, but what proceeds from God himself, penetrate in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner ? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Se-

* Ver. 16.

† Ver. 17.

‡ Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græciæ expulisset venerunt.—Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 3.

§ Ver. 18.

|| Ver. 19.

Lucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and, accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprises, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Coelosyria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops made in it; his conquests of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the outlines of the picture of Antiochus, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed, that the prophet drew those features without a design, and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECTION IX.—SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR SUCCEEDS ANTIOCHUS. COMPLAINTS AGAINST PHILIP.

ANTIOCHUS the Great was succeeded by Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces. His reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant sum, a thousand talents annually, he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.*

Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.†

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Coelosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages.‡ Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of great wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his

* A. M. 3817 Ant. J. C. 187. Appian in Syr. p. 116.

† Polyb. in Leg. c. 37

‡ Joseph. Antiqu. l. xii. c. 4.

jesters, said to him, "Do but behold, sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your majesty may judge in what manner his father gnaws your provinces." These words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus, how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that," replied he; "for dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the persons at your table have done," pointing to them; "but men are contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones, like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only five talents to present, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed twenty talents; but Hyrcanus presented to the king one hundred boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering, and to the queen as many girls, in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed in all things the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him: but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers, that deadly poison to kings, prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to yield to all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took, of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he despatched him with poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs, than his wild passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.*

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest rank having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were on the point of putting them in execution.

To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had risen to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when the conspiracy of Scopas was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conducted very much to the preservation of the state.†

Ptolemy, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates again extricated him.‡

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy,

* A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

‡ A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

shortly after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents of brass. His offer was accepted; and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered one hundred and twenty talents, the interest of which was to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and at the same time desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador, whom Philopœmen sent to Rome to justify his conduct, had returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.*

For these several reasons, a great assembly was held. The first person who entered it, was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And, as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no farther mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father, and proposed, in the name of Eumenes, the offer of one hundred and twenty talents, they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. "For, in a word," continued he, "as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any pretence whatever, the crime would be much greater should the commonwealth, collectively, accept the offers of Eumenes. That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident; for, says Apollonius, what could reflect greater ignominy on a council, than to receive, annually, from a king, money for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order to deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of his pensioners, and in a manner rising from his table, after having swallowed the bait that concealed the hook?† But what dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a custom, should it be established? That Prussias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him, Seleucus; that, as the interest of kings differed widely from those of republics, and as, in the latter, their most important deliberations related to their differences with crowned heads, two things would inevitably happen; either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those princes, and to the prejudice of their own country, or, they must behave with the blackest ingratitude toward their benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the

* A. M. 3318. Ant. J. C. 136. Polyb. in Legat. c. 14. p. 850—852.

† Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those who composed the council his dependents. *Καταπαράσιτος οὖρον δόλωμα.*

present which was offered; and added, "that it was their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such an offer." The whole assembly, with shouts, rejected unanimously the proposal of Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew, several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions, and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters to Rome, against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.*

Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had sufficient reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but more particularly, because by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the privilege of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania; and Amynder, the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.†

The three commissioners having arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came, on one side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhæbians, and Athamanians: and, on the other, of Philip king of Macedon; a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty, entreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies by friendship rather than fear. The rest of the ambassadors being less reserved, and not so moderate, reproached him to his face for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb.‡ Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that like slaves, who being made free on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, broke into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a

* A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.

† *Ut æquum sternacem non parentem freui*

† Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29

periorius castigandum esse.—Liv

long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them.* The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper, at that time, to pronounce definitely upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. The ambassadors of Eumenes said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the conditions of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus, in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force; that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions, and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. "You, Romans!" said he, concluding his speech, "are to consider upon what terms you intend to have me be with you. If you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that case, you need only use me as you have hitherto done: but, if you still revere in my person the title and quality of king, ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer with so much indignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech. For this reason they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were, in that case it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner: that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare it.

The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the re-

* Insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina siti nimis avidè merani haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis et vagus experiri, et jectare sese insectatione et convitiis dominorum.—Liv.

public in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted with prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.*

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador, and before him, Marcus Fulvius, would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And, indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, merely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn, as he had promised Cecilius, from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the seacoast of Thrace.†

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent to give their reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius, and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Arcus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise cleared themselves for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Arcus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demolished; its citizens dragged into Achaia

* Polyb. in Legat. c. 41. p. 243. 154.

† A. M. 3820 Ant. J. C. 161 Polyb. in Legat. c. 42 Liv. l. xxxix. c. 32.

and reduced to a state of captivity;* the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to inquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace, in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.†

Some time after, Appius arrived, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some said he) declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. "It is to no purpose," said Appius to him, "for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them." These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the instigator of the massacre; but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who, he declared, so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip feared that Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and from whom he had never concealed any thing, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had procured the massacre in Maronea, and was on the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon, reflecting in his own mind and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself, would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against them; but, not being prepared, he conceived it expedient to gain

* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

† Polyb. in *Legat.* c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35

time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified, either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accordingly he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and took their chief prisoner, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly such things as they might fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.*

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the inquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done on that occasion; the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appius. He showed first, that the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which had expressly forbade them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused for having assisted them, to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That, with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those who they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas "it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the cause of the aboli

tion of the laws of Lycurgus, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, how can this double objection be made to us at the same time? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety, and to enable themselves to abolish, with impunity, the discipline and regulations so happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the grave, he would be overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and say, that he now knows and owns his native country, and ancient Sparta. You should not, citizens of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans, but ought yourselves to have pulled down those walls with your own hands, and destroyed even the slightest trace of tyranny. These were a kind of ignominious scars of your slavery; and after having maintained your liberties and privileges during almost eight hundred years, and been for some time the sovereigns of Greece, without the support and assistance of walls; they, within these hundred years, have become the instruments of your slavery, and in a manner your shackles and fetters. With respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were suppressed by the tyrants; and we have only substituted our own, by putting you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, "I cannot forbear owning," said he, "that the words I have hitherto spoken, were not as from one ally to another, nor of a free nation, but as slaves who speak to their master. For, in fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us to be free in the presence of the Grecian states, was not a vain and empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that time be real and solid; if you are desirous of sincerely preserving an alliance and friendship with us; on what can that infinite disparity, which you suppose to be between you Romans and us Achæans, be grounded? I do not inquire into the treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken that city; why then do you examine into our usage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered them? Some of them were killed, and I will suppose that it was by us. But did not you strike off the heads of several Campanian senators? We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground; but you not only dispossessed the Campanians of their walls, but of their city and lands. To this I know you will reply, that the equality expressed in the treaties between the Romans and Achæans is merely specious, and a bare form of words; that we really have but a precarious and derivative liberty, but that the Romans are possessed of authority and empire. This, Appius, I am but too sensible of. However, since we must be forced to submit to this, I entreat you at least, however wide a difference you may set between yourselves and us, not to put your enemies and our own upon a level with us, who are your allies; especially, not to show them better treatment. They require us, by forswearing ourselves, to dissolve and annul all that we have enacted by oath; and to revoke that, which by being written on our records, and engraved on marble, in order to preserve the remembrance of it eternally, is become a sacred monument which it is not lawful for us to violate. We revere you, Romans! and, if you will have it so, we also fear you; but we think it glorious to have a greater reverence and fear for the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoken like a true magistrate; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, while they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta; but not to oblige the

Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league.* Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcins was appointed commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbances subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other.† They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any farther about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.‡

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

SECTION X.—PHILOPŒMEN BESIEGES MESSENE. HE IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND PUT TO DEATH. PTOLEMY EPIPHANES DIES.

DINOCRATES the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Coronne, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. But the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made a counter-march, and advanced toward Messene with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight; but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths who had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words that had escaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: "Ought that man," said he, "to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, while he has arms to defend himself?"

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, viz. that Philopœmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard, till they saw him themselves; so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48.

† In Achiac. p. 414.

‡ Polyb. in Legat. c. 51.

§ A. M. 3821 Ant. J. C. 185. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 43. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. 52, 53.

or yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved with compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There was even heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity, and a very laudable gratitude, "that the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopœmen, and his preserving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called the Treasury. This was a subterraneous place, where neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to return till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance toward him, with a lamp in one hand and a sword in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty, for he was very weak, sat down, and then taking the cup, he inquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans, his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard that almost all of them had saved themselves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, "You bring me," said he, "good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate;" after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were excessively afflicted and dejected. Immediately all the young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment the revenge of so horrid a deed; and accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messene, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their entreaties, did not think it adviseable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all those who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods

of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners, bound in chains; afterwards the general's son, young Polybius,* carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elated from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several years after,† at the time that Corinth was burned and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser, a Roman, as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broken to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive, charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was held in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is a great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans; for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and as it were upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe, I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, which breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only inflames and exasperates them the more.

When the news was brought to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league to take up arms; and now they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

* This was Polybius the historian, who might then be about two and twenty

† Thirty-seven years.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it: that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus: that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprise which would have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After retiring from the court of Antiochus, he fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion, the fleet of Eumenes consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon the galley of Eumenes only, informing them at the same time of a sign by which they could distinguish it from the rest; and to annoy the enemy no otherwise then by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service; but when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the galleys, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; "What!" says Hannibal, "do you rely more upon the liver of a beast, than upon the counsel of Hannibal?"* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.†

I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burdened with it: that they had declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans, in the administration of the public affairs, were very desirous of that union, which, he observed, could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety toward them, would not be included in it, but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. Notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.‡

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors which tended

* An tu, inquit, vitulinarum caruncula, quam imperatori veteri mavis credere? Unius hostiæ jecinori longæ æternitatis testatam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit.—Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

† Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51. Corn. Nep. in Annib. c. 10—12. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 4.

‡ A. M. 3422. Ant. J. C. 132. Polyb. in Legat. c. 53.

to show that they were disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, having arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate, and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state; and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with many marks of honour and amity.

The Lacedæmonian exiles no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, than they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans, hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.*

Hyperbates, having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," said he, "listen favourably to such complaints and entreaties of unfortunate persons as appear to them just and reasonable, they, in this, act a very just part. But when it is represented to them, that among the favours which are requested at their hands, some are not in their power to bestow, and others would reflect dishonour, and be very prejudicial to their allies; on these occasions they do not use to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such allies an implicit obedience to their commands. This is exactly our case at present. Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their orders without infringing the sacred oaths we have taken, without violating the laws on which our league is founded; and then they will undoubtedly wave their resolutions, and confess that it is with the greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lysiadès, and Aratus, were the ambassadors, to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.†

When the ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. "If the Greeks," said he, directing himself to the senators, "do not obey you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or orders which you send them, you must blame yourselves only for it. Throughout the states of Greece there are now two parties; one of which asserts that all your orders ought to be obeyed, and that laws and treaties, in a word, that all things should pay homage to your will and pleasure; the other party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably to them. Of these two parties, the last suits best with the genius and character of the Achæans, and has the greatest influence over the people. What is the consequence of this? Those who comply with your

* A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181 Polyb. in Legat. c. 54.

† A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180 Polyb. in Legat. c. 58.

measures are detested by the common people, while such as oppose your decrees are honoured and applauded. If the senate would show ever so little favour to such as espouse their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and officers of all the republics would declare for the Romans; and the people, intimidated by this, would soon follow their example. But, while you show an indifference on this head, all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, as the infallible means of acquiring the love and respect of the people. And accordingly we see, that many people, whose only merit consists in their making the strongest opposition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the defence and preservation of the laws of their country, have been raised to the most exalted employments in their nation. In case you do not much value whether the Greeks are, or are not at your devotion, then, indeed, your present conduct suits exactly your sentiments. But if you would have them execute your orders, and receive your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this matter; otherwise be assured that they will, on all occasions, declare against your commands. You may judge of the truth of this from their present behaviour toward you. How long is it since you commanded them, by your letters, to recall the Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheless, so far from recalling them, they have published a quite contrary decree, and have bound themselves by oath never to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to you, and show how cautious you should be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in a few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this manner did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery; prostituted the liberty of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the great king of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their domestic affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, either right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress, by all possible methods, whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and to show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude: the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities should follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them, and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty, and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But the treason of Callicrates, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours, they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he might best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declared against his superiors, and became the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, than he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listened to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgment. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from a historian, who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprises ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.*

Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to

* A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Legat. c. 51—59.

† A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180.

Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. The Achæans deputed, in this quality, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. These ambassadors, however, did not leave Achaia, because, when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.*

This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has already been mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent, therefore, that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus despatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometer, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.†

CHAPTER II.

THIS second chapter includes the space of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821 till 3840. In this interval are contained the first twenty years of Ptolemy Philometer's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to thirty-four years; the five last years of Philip, who reigned forty years in Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus, who reigned eleven; the eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, and the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor, who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews. I shall reserve the eleven years of the reign of Perseus over Macedonia for the following book, though they coincide with part of the history related in this chapter.

SECTION I.—PERSEUS CONSPIRES AGAINST DEMETRIUS. THE LATTER IS INNOCENTLY PUT TO DEATH; AND PERSEUS SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE.

FROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip, were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes either of having their injuries redressed, which they pretended to have received, or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace as he had promised, and to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.‡

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father; but the senate, imagining that this would be a difficult task for so young a prince, who was not

* Polyb. in Legat. c. 57.

† A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron in Daniel.

‡ A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 133. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

accustomed to speak in public, to spare him that trouble, sent certain persons to him to inquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials, and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially showed great disgust at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologise for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses: that, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there, as the hostage of his inclinations, his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing, in any manner, the duty he owed his father: that, out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss: and that, as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved toward him. Those marks of distinction which the senate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only excited envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and a war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine and even reputed suppositious. Besides, it was not doubted that the Romans would place Demetrius on the throne of his father, Perseus not having any influence with them. And these were the common reports.*

On the one side also, Perseus was very uneasy, as he feared that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother, superior to him in all other respects; and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the crown as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his lifetime, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or sooth the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, by modesty, and complacency, he only inflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction with which he had been honoured in that city; and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than himself; and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had re-

* Liv. l. xxxix. n. 59

zeived from Rome: all these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war, for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

His schemes, however, were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in Æmathia, formerly called Poënia, the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their place, Thracians and other barbarous nations, who he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of those unhappy beings, who were forced away out of their houses and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.*

But Philip, far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children; and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.†

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death, plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out for Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa, when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back toward the coast. At daybreak, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penal-

* Liv. l. xl. c. 3—5.

† A. M. 2222. ABUL. J. C. 122.

ties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company, in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death," said she, "only can free you from your miseries; and here is what will procure you that last, sad refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you like best. Go, my dear children, such of you as are more advanced in years, and take these poniards; or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leapt into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived, and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his influence and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly, which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion, that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all those discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius, without considering the consequences, grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus, taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what use," said he, "can all this be to us? We have not so much to hope from foreign aids as to dread from domestic foes. We harbour in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but at least a spy. The Romans, ever since he was a hostage among them, have restored us his body; but as to his heart and inclinations, those he has left with them. Almost all the Macedonians already fix their eyes on him; and are persuaded, that they shall never have any king, but him whom the Romans shall please to set over them." By such speeches, the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies of which were as follow. A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, lengthwise, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops, under arms, are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided.* At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedonia are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes, his children, appear afterwards, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age; sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms than foils, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. This, however, was not a mere mock battle; all the men exerting themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne; several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical remarks, some of which were very sharp against those of the contrary party; without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet; but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain, if he has any remaining, by an agreeable surprise, which will show that we act with frankness and sincerity, and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried out that they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them

* We find in Scripture the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties pass through the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 8.

thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man running hastily before, went to Perseus and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy; nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus ordered the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants, not to open the doors to wretches, who were come with a design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table; still ignorant of the affair relating to the spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is the greatest happiness for me," answered Perseus, "and by the merest good fortune in the world, that you see me here alive. My brother now no longer lays secret snares for me; he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his fury, than to shut my doors, and keep the wall between him and me." Perseus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread; "If you will condescend," said he, "to listen a moment to me, you will be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time he sent for Lysimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, while he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life guards; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him; and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows:

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; reduced to the sad necessity of finding in one of them, either a criminal or a false accuser. From certain rumours which long since reached my ears, and an unusual behaviour I observe between you, a behaviour no ways suiting brothers, I indeed was afraid this storm would break over my head. And yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discontents and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions vanish away. I recollected, that contending kings and princes, laying down their arms, had frequently contracted alliances and friendships; and that private men had suppressed their animosities. I flattered myself, that you would one day remember the endearing name of brothers by which you are united; those tender years of infancy which you spent in simplicity and union; in fine, the counsels so often repeated by a father; counsels, which, alas! I am afraid have been given to children deaf and indocile to my voice. How many times, after setting before you examples of the discord between brothers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by showing you, that they had thereby involved themselves in inevitable ruin; and not only themselves, but their children, families and kingdoms? On the other side, I proposed good examples for your imitation; the strict union between the two kings of Lacedæmon."

dæmonia, so advantageous, during several centuries, to themselves and their country, in opposition to division and private interest, that changed the monarchical government into tyranny, and proved the destruction of Sparta. By what other method, than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings as almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity, rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I even did not scruple to cite examples from the Romans, of which I myself had either been an eye-witness, or heard from others; as the two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged in war with me; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who defeated and subjected Antiochus; their father and their uncle, who having been inseparable during their lives, were undivided in death. Neither the crimes of the one, though attended with such fatal consequences, nor the virtues of the other, though crowned with such happy success, have been able to make you abhor division and discord, and to inspire you with gentle and pacific sentiments. Both of you in my lifetime, have turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my throne. You will not suffer me to live, till surviving one of you, I secure my crown to the other by my death. The fond names of father and brother are insupportable to both. Your souls are strangers to tenderness and love. A restless desire of reigning has banished all other sentiments from your breasts, and entirely engrosses you. But come, let me hear what each of you have to say. Pollute the ears of your parent with real or feigned accusations. Open your criminal mouths; vent all your reciprocal slanders, and afterwards arm your parricidal hands one against the other. I am ready to hear all you have to say; firmly determined to shut my ears eternally from henceforth against the secret whispers and accusations of brother against brother." Philip having spoken these last words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long time in mournful silence.

At last Perseus spoke as follows: "I perceive plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in the dead of night, to have admitted the assassins into my house, and presented my throat to their murderous swords, since guilt is never believed, till it has been perpetrated; and since I, who was so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too much reason to say that you consider Demetrius only as your true son, while unhappy I, am looked upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or even an impostor. For, did your breast glow with the tenderness which a father ought to have for his child, you would not think it just to inveigh so bitterly against me, for whose life so many snares have been laid, but against him who contrived them; and you would not think my life so inconsiderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the imminent danger I escaped; nor to that to which I shall be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suffered to go unpunished. If I must die without being suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so; let me leave the world in silence, and be contented with beseeching the gods, in my expiring moments, that this crime, which was begun in my person, may end in it, and not extend to your sacred life. But if, what nature inspires in those, who seeing themselves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the assistance even of strangers to them, I may be allowed to do with regard to you on the present occasion; if, when I see swords drawn round me, in order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to vent forth a plaintive and supplicating voice; I conjure you by the tender, the dear name of Father, for which, whether my brother or I have had the greatest reverence, you yourself have long known, to listen to me at this time, as if, awaked suddenly from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last night, chance had brought you at the instant of my danger, and in the midst of my complaints; and that you had found Demetrius at my door, attended by persons in arms. What I should have told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and seized with fear, I say to you now.

“Brother, it is long since we have not behaved toward one another, like persons desirous of sharing in parties of pleasure. You are fired with an insatiable thirst of reigning : but you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient customs of Macedonia, and a still stronger circumstance, my father’s will and pleasure. It will be impossible for you ever to force these barriers, and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends, you employ instruments of all kinds, and set every engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the ceremony of the tournament which followed it, the battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody and fatal ; and, had I not suffered myself and my followers to be defeated, you would have sent me to the grave. From this fight, indeed, of enemies, you insidiously wanted, as if what had passed had been only the diversion of others, to allure me to your feast. Can you suppose, royal father, that I should have met with unarmed guests there, as those very guests came to my palace, completely armed, at so late an hour ? Can you imagine that, favoured by the gloom, they would not have striven to plunge their daggers in my heart ; as the same persons in open day, and before your eyes, almost killed me with their wooden weapons ? How ! You, who are my professed enemy ; you who are conscious that I have so much reason to complain of your conduct ; you, I say, come to me in the night, at an unseasonable hour, and at the head of a company of armed young men ? I did not think it safe for me to go to your entertainment ; and should I receive you in my house at a time, when, heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well attended ? Had I then opened my door, royal sir, you would be preparing to solemnize my funeral, at this very instant in which you vouchsafe to hear my complaints. I do not advance any thing dubious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For can Demetrius deny, that he came to my house, attended by a band of young people, and that some of them were armed ? I only desire to have those whom I shall name sent for. I believe them capable of any thing ; but yet they cannot have the assurance to deny the fact. Had I brought them before you, after seizing them armed in my house, you would be fully convinced of their guilt, and surely their own confession ought to be a no less proof of it.

“You call down imprecations and curses upon impious sons who aspire to your throne : this, august sir, you have great reason to do : but then I beseech you, not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at random. Distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbarous design of murdering his brother, feel the dire effects of the anger of the gods, the avengers of paternal authority : but then let him, who, by his brother’s guilt, was brought to the brink of destruction, find a secure asylum in his father’s tenderness and justice. For where else can I expect to find one ; I, to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the festival, nor the hours of night allotted by the gods to the repose of man, could afford the least security ? If I go to the entertainment to which my brother invites me, I am a dead man ; and it will be equally fatal to me, if I admit him into my house, when he comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid for me wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush for me wherever I move ; to what place then can I fly for security ?

“I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to you, my royal father. I never made my court to the Romans, and cannot have recourse to them. There is nothing they more earnestly wish than my ruin, because I am so much affected with their injustice to you ; because I am tortured to the soul, and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed of so many cities and dominions, and, lately, of the maritime coasts of Thrace. They cannot flatter themselves with the hopes of ever making themselves masters of Macedonia, as long as you or I am in being. They are sensible, that, should I die by my

brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave, or they not wait the due course of nature, that then the king and kingdom will be at their disposal.

"Had the Romans left you the possession of some city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, will it be answered, that I shall find a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedonians? You, yourself, royal father, saw with what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked me in the battle. What was wanting for my destruction, but swords of steel? However, the arms they wanted, my brother's guests assumed in the night. What shall I say of a great part of the principal persons of your court, who ground all their hopes on the Romans; and on him who is all-powerful with them? They are not ashamed to prefer him not only to me, who am his elder brother, but I might almost say to you, who are our king and father. For they pretend that it is to him you are obliged for the senate's remitting you some of those things which they otherwise would have required; it is he who now checks the Romans, and prevents their advancing, in a hostile manner, into your kingdom; in fine, if they may be believed, your old age has no other refuge than the protection which your young son procures you. On his side are the Romans, and all the cities which have been dismembered from your dominions, as well as all such Macedonians, whose dependence, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But, with respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious to have no other protector than my royal father, and to place all my hopes in him alone.

"What do you judge to be the aim and design of the letter you lately received from Quintius, in which he declares expressly, that you acted prudently for your interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome; and wherein he exhorts you to send him back thither, accompanied by other ambassadors, and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is now every thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide than his counsels, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, he seems to have substituted him in your place. It is in the city of Rome, and in his sight, he formed the secret and clandestine designs which will soon break out into action. It is merely to have the better opportunity of putting them in execution, that Quintius orders you to send along with Demetrius a greater number of the Macedonian nobility. They set out from this country with the most sincere attachment to your person and interest; but, won by the gracious treatment they meet with in that city, they return from it entirely corrupted and debauched by different sentiments. Demetrius is all in all with them; they even presume, in your lifetime, to give him the title of king. If I appear shocked at this conduct, I have the grief to see, not only others, but yourself, my royal father, charge me with the horrid design of aspiring to your throne. Should this accusation be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my own innocence, and it cannot in any manner affect me. For whom, in that case, should I dispossess, to seize upon what would be another's right? There is no one but my father between me and the throne, and I beseech the gods that he may long continue so. In case I should happen to survive him, and this I would not wish, but so long as he should desire it, I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be his good pleasure. He may be accused of aspiring to the throne, and of aspiring in the most unjust and criminal manner, who is impatient to break the order and bounds prescribed by age, by nature, by the usages and customs of Macedonia, and by the law of nations. My elder brother, says Demetrius to himself, to whom the kingdom belongs, both by the right of seniority and my father's will, is an obstacle to my ambitious views. What then must be done? I must despatch him. I shall not be the first who has waded through a brother's blood to the throne. My father, in years, and without support, will be too much afraid for his own life, to meditate revenge for his son's death. The Romans will be greatly pleased to see me on the throne; they will approve my conduct, and be able to support me. I own, most gracious father, these projects may be all defeated;

but I am sure they are not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this; it is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to condign punishment those who yesterday armed to assassinate me: but should their guilt take effect, it will not be in your power to revenge my death."

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately. But that young prince, being quite oppressed with sorrow, shedding floods of tears, and seeming unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed to answer, he suffered his grief to give way to necessity, and spoke as follows:

"Perseus, royal sir, by accusing me in your presence, and by shedding fictitious tears to move you to compassion, has made you suspect mine, which, alas! are but too sincere; and by that means deprived me of all the advantages the accused generally have. Ever since my return from Rome, he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret cabals with his creatures, and yet he represents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but attacking him by open force, and persons in arms. He endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround him, in hopes that you will put to death his innocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign credit and support, which are rather a prejudice than a service to me.

"Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art he has blended and confounded the transactions of last night with every other circumstance of my life: and this in a double view; first, to raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in general from this last action, the innocence of which will soon be evident; and secondly, to support, by this idle story of a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accusation of my harbouring criminal views, hopes and pretensions. At the same time he has endeavoured to show, that this accusation was not premeditated or prepared; but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with which he was seized, occasioned by last night's tumult. But Perseus, if I had attempted to betray my father and his kingdom, had I engaged in conspiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies of the state, you ought not to have waited for the opportunity of the fictitious story of last night's transaction, but should have impeached me before this time of such treason. If the charge of treason, when separated from the other, was altogether improbable, and could serve no other purpose than to prove how much you envy me, and not to evidence my guilt, you ought not to have mentioned it now, but should have postponed that charge to another time; and have examined now this question only, whether you laid snares for me, or I for you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as the confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen accusation has thrown me will permit, to separate and distinguish what you have thrown together indiscriminately; and to show whether you or myself ought in justice to be accused of dealing treacherously last night.

Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to assassinate him, in order that by the death of my elder brother, to whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by the customs of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by your determination, I, though the younger son, might succeed to the throne. To what purpose, therefore, is that other part of his speech, where he declares, that I have been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with the Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of being able to ascend the throne by their assistance? For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever they pleased; and if I relied so much on my credit and authority with them, why should I commit a fratricide of no advantage to myself? What! should I have affected to surround my temples

with a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I might become odious and execrable, even to those with whom I had acquired some authority, admitting I have some credit with them, by a probity either real or dissembled, unless you can suppose that Quintius, whose counsel I am accused of following, he, I say, who lives in so delightful a union with his brother, suggested to me the horrid design of imbruing my hands in my brother's blood? Perseus has summed up all the advantages by which, as he would insinuate, I can promise myself a superiority over him, such as the credit of the Romans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and the almost universal consent of gods and men; and yet he, at the same time, as if I was inferior to him in all respects, charges me with having recourse to an expedient which none but the blackest villains could employ. Will you, gracious sir, have us judged upon this principle and rule, that whoever of us two was apprehensive that the other would be judged more worthy of the diadem, shall be declared to have formed the design of murdering his brother?

"But let us come to facts, and examine the order and plan of the criminal enterprise with which I am charged. Perseus pretends to have been attacked in different manners, all which are, however, included within the space of one day. I attempted, as he says, to murder him in broad daylight, in the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of the review; I had determined to poison him at an entertainment to which I had invited him; in fine, I resolved to attack him with open force, in the dead of night, attended by armed persons to a party of pleasure at his house.

"You see, sir, the season I had chosen to commit this fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of pleasure. How venerable and solemn was this day! A day on which the army is reviewed, on which the resplendent arms of all the Macedonian monarchs are carried in the front of the procession; on which it passes through the two parts of the sacred victim; and on which we have the honour to march with you, at the head of the whole Macedonian people! What, though purified by this august sacrifice, from all faults I might before have committed, having before my eyes the sacred victim through which we passed, was my mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers! Defiled in such a manner, by crimes of the most horrid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims, would it have been possible for me to purify myself?

"It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a blind passion to calumniate and destroy me, in his endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For, brother, had I formed the abominable design of poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill judged than to exasperate you, and to put you upon your guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should have discovered that I had designs of violence against you; and, by that means, have prevented your coming to an entertainment to which I had invited you, and at which you accordingly refused to be present? But surely, after such a refusal, should I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you; and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison, ought I not to have sought another opportunity for giving you the fatal draught? Was it natural for me to change suddenly, in one day, my barbarous design, and to attempt to assassinate you, upon pretence of going to your house on a party of pleasure? Could I reasonably flatter myself with the hopes, taking it for granted that the fear of your being murdered had made you refuse to come to my entertainment, that the same fear would not induce you to refuse me admittance into your house?

"I presume, sir, I may confess to you without blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing, happening to be in company with some people of the same age with myself, I drank more plentifully than usual. Inquire, I beseech you, how we spent our time at the feast, how full of mirth we were, how transported with thoughtless gayety, very much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for the victory we had gained in the tournament. It

is the sad condition of an unforeseen accusation, it is the danger in which now see myself involved, that have dispelled but too easily the fumes of wine; otherwise, a calm assassin, my eyes had still been closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to attack your house with the view of murdering you, would it not have been possible for me to abstain, for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to keep my companions from the like excess?

But, that it may not be thought that I only act with frankness and simplicity, let us hear my brother, whose conduct is sincere and undisguised, and who does not harbour the least suspicion. All, says he, that I know, and the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they came armed to my house, upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure. Should I ask you how you came to know this, you will be forced to own, either that my house was filled with spies sent by you, or else that my attendants had taken up arms in so open a manner, that every one knew of it. What does my brother do? That he may not seem to have formerly watched all my motions, nor, at this time, to ground his accusation merely on suppositions, he beseeches you to inquire of those whom he shall name, whether people did not come armed to his house; in order that, as if this were a doubtful circumstance, after this inquiry into an incident which they themselves own and confess, they may be considered as legally convicted. But is this the question? Why do not you desire an inquiry to be made whether they took up arms to assassinate you, and if they did it with my knowledge, and at my request? For it is this you pretend; and not what they themselves own publicly, and which is very manifest, that they took up arms in no other view than to defend themselves. Whether they had or had not reason to arm themselves, that they are to inform you. Do not blend and confound my cause with theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate. Only tell us, whether we really intended to attack you openly or by surprise. If openly, why did we not all take up arms? Why were those only armed who had insulted your spy? In case it was to have been by surprise, in what manner would the attack have been made? Would it have been at the end of the feast in your house, and, after I had left it with my company, would the four men in question have staid behind, to have fallen upon you when asleep? How would it have been possible for them, as they were strangers in my service, to conceal themselves in your house; and as they could not but be very much suspected, having been seen but a few hours before, engaged in the quarrel? Again, supposing they had found an opportunity to murder you, in what manner could they have escaped! Could four men armed have been able to make themselves masters of your house?

“But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come to what really pains you, and which you have so much at heart; for what reason, methinks I hear my brother say, wherefore, O Demetrius, do the people talk of making you king? Why do some persons think you more worthy than I of succeeding our father? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would have been established on the most solid foundation? Such are the reflections which Perseus revolves in his mind, though he does not express himself in this manner: it is this which raises his enmity against me, and prompts him to charge me with such horrid attempts; it is this which fills the palace, and every part of the kingdom, with suspicions and accusations. If it does not become me, sir, so much as to hope the sceptre, nor perhaps ever to think of contesting it, because it is your will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder brother, it does not follow that I ought to make myself appear unworthy of it, either to you,* my royal father, or to all the Macedonians; a circumstance which nothing but my ill conduct could occa-

* Instead of “indignus te patre,” Gronovius reads, “indignus tibi, pater, which seems to agree better with the context.

sion. I can, indeed, through moderation, resign it to whom it belongs; but I cannot prevail with myself to renounce my virtue and good name.

"You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and impute that to me for a crime, which ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to Rome, neither as a hostage at first, nor afterwards as an ambassador; this, sir, you yourself very well know. When you ordered me to go thither, I obeyed your commands; and I believe my conduct and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, sir, that occasioned the friendship I have contracted with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace with them, so long our friendship will subsist; but the moment the trumpet sounds for war, though I have been a hostage among them, and exercised the functions of an ambassador in such a manner as perhaps has not been disadvantageous to my father; from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself their enemy. I do not desire to reap any benefit on the present occasion, from the love which the Romans have for me; all I entreat is, that it may not be a prejudice to me. It was not begun in war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As a hostage and an ambassador, peace was my only object; let that neither be considered in me as a crime or a merit.

"If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I owe you, sir, if I have formed any criminal enterprise against my brother, let me be punished as I deserve; but if I am innocent, this I claim, that as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time that my brother has charged me with harbouring horrid designs; but it is the first time he has attempted to do it openly, though without the least foundation. Was my father exasperated against me, it would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to intercede for your younger brother; to solicit his pardon, to entreat that some regard might be shown to his youth; and that a fault, which had been committed merely through inadvertency, might be overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quarter whence I might naturally have expected my safety.

"Though not quite awake, after the feast and party of pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sudden, to answer a charge of fratricide; and am forced to plead my own cause, unassisted by counsellors, and unsupported by the advice or credit of a single person. Had I been to speak in favour of another, I should have taken time to prepare and compose my discourse; and yet, on such an occasion, my reputation only would have laid at stake, and I should have had nothing to do but display my wit and eloquence. At this instant, without knowing the cause for which I am ordered to appear in this place, I hear an offended father, commanding me to make my defence; and a brother, charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus has had all the time he could desire to prepare his accusation, while unhappy I did not so much as know what the business was, till the very instant the accusation was brought against me. In this rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my accuser, than studious of my own apology? Surprised by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I could scarcely comprehend what was laid to my charge, so far from being able to know how to make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could I have left, did I not know that it is my royal father who is to judge? He may show a greater affection for my brother, as the elder; but he owes more compassion to me, as being the party accused. I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your own sake and mine; whereas Perseus insists upon your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you not naturally expect from him, when you shall have once invested him with your authority. as he now demands your favour in preference to me, at no less a price than my blood?"

While Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs and groans, intermingled with tears. Philip, dismissing

both of them for a moment, advised with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: "I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from mere words and a few transient speeches, but from the inquiry I shall make into your conduct from your behaviour in small as well as great things, and from your words as well as actions." This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip however suspected him from his union with the Romans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the wars, that appeared in Philip's lifetime, and which were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to inquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to inquire secretly into what he had said there, particularly to Quintius, with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were the adherents of Perseus, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, his brother's accusation excepted, had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father, especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner; but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.*

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of Mount Hæmus, the Black Sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia, appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father, and offered to serve him to the utmost in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means, for it was necessary to pass through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor; and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up Mount Hæmus, returned with no better information from his inquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not, however, refute the vulgar opinion, in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public, rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, rivers, seas and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, the bosom

* A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. xlix. n. 20—24.

friend of Demetrius, was seized, and strict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of 'T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions which might have escaped him, with respect to the succession to the crown; assuring him, that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of blood and nature." He concluded with observing, "that it was never in his thoughts to give him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Pœonia, and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him, was the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go to Demetrias, he commanded Didas to despatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pœonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time, Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others not even waiting for it.*

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew to another Antigonus, surnamed Doson, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought, and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used

his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of the conspiracy of Perseus.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles, in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus, immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined," says he, "royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you greater pleasure, than to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your two sons; and to discover which of them it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You now have in your power the man who is best able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus, being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying with impunity the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of the recent fame and glory of his uncle Antigonus, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced," says Philip, "to the deplorable necessity of wishing that my fate, which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can befall them, the being childless, I now am resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the guardianship of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it as the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks, I shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can be so happy as to substitute you in his place; you, who alone bewailed the untimely death of my dear son and the unhappy credulity which proved his destruction."

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. While Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a tour through several cities of

Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted that he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrius, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons, with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he despatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them, that he should keep them in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprised all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

Perseus reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of his history, which has scarcely any connexion with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECTION II.—SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. DISTURBANCES IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of Maccabees.* The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprises, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus, his first minister, to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true? The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged, and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver, and of two hundred talents of gold. However, the minister sent from that prince,

* 2 Maccabees, iii.

insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately, the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, on account of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time, Heliodorus, with his guards, had arrived at the gate of the treasury, and was preparing to break it open. But the Spirit of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible mark;* insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse, richly caparisoned, which, rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore feet. The man who sat on this horse, had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus, falling from his horse, was taken up and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast on the ground, speechless, and without showing the least sign of life; while the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now some of the friends of Heliodorus besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. While he was praying, the two young men, above mentioned, appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him, "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is for his sake that the Lord has granted your life. After having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world his miraculous power." Having spoken these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered, "In case you gave an enemy, or any traitorous wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, and you will see him return back quite flayed with scourging, and he perhaps may die under it. For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himself present in that place; he is the guardian and protector of it; and he strikes those mortally who go thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. He resided thirteen years in Rome, Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known, perhaps

* Sed Spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit sue ostentationis evidentiam.

to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing ; and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius, his only son, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as a hostage in the room of Antiochus * During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus ; and, accordingly, he poisoned him.†

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom ; but within few days‡ he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle."§ These few words denote, evidently, the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. "There shall arise up in his place," of Antiochus, "a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy, the glory of the kingdom." And, indeed, this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand talents annually ; and the twelve years of this tribute exactly end with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.||

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21, of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretells every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the "little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns."¶ I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here, chap. xi. ver. 21, the prophet describes his accession to the throne. "And in his (Seleucus) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom ; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." The conduct of Antiochus shall show how vile he was. It is said, "that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people ; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west "peaceably, or rather secretly," to surprise his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

He assumed the title of Epiphanes, that is, the Illustrious ; which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of "Epimenes, Mad or Furious," which some people gave him.**

Some circumstances related of him prove how justly the epithet vile is bestowed upon him in Scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops ; and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in

* Appian in Syr. p. 116.

† The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

‡ A. M. 3829

Ant. J. C. 175.

§ Dan. xi. 20.

¶ Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Heron. in Dan.

¶ Dan. viii. 9.

** Athen. l. v. p. 198.

the places where they were assembled. On these occasions, he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go, without saying a word to any person, and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would set up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair;* when, seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling; and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that when intoxicated, he would frequently traverse the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, "Catch as catch can." At other times, he would leave his palace, dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head, and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said, and I omit a great many other particulars, I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of Senseless, rather than that of Illustrious.

Scarcely was Antiochus well seated on the throne, when Jason, brother of Onias, the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, three hundred and sixty talents, besides eighty more, for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.†

In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son, and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence.‡

But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, than they sent a deputation to demand Cœlosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus, his son, with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.§

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Issus, three provinces had been

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

† A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv.

‡ A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Pan.

§ Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii—lxxxii

assigned to Ptolemy Soter ; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces ; that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry ; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts ; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria, including Cœlosyria and Palestine, had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was an absolute chimera. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

Ptolemy Philometer, being entered on his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew ; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it in a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.*

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city, and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in the name of that prince, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted his father, should be renewed with him ; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the senate, from all the youths of Rome, and from persons of all ranks and conditions, during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as a hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.†

Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the orders of his commission, supplanted his brother and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts : but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned

* 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

† Liv. l. xl. n. 8.

the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard hearted, however, lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large, as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.*

Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine, finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of these provinces.†

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war for the support of his pretensions; immediately after which, he put himself at the head of his army, and marched toward the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near Mount Casius and Pelusium, and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt; after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

During his stay there, three persons, deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his presence of impiety and sacrilege.‡ The king was going to condemn him, but, at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers, in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as false witnesses; "an action," says the author of Maccabees,§ "so very unjust, that before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent." The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

This Ptolemy Macron, having been formerly governor of the island of Cyprus, under king Ptolemy Philometer, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head; but had constantly refused to regard them, from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him great reputation at court. But, afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded for

* A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. 2 Maccab. iv. 28, &c.

† A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi. lxxii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel.

‡ A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.

§ 2 Maccab. iv. 47.

so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into the service of Antiochus, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants, made him governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine; and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostrates. Frequent mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.*

Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and, as soon as the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very centre of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power to have prevented a single man from escaping; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis, and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.†

Philometer was either taken, or surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king, his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext, he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

Philometer made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him; and, after the battle, submitted himself, in the most abject manner, to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without making any effort to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave proofs of both, as to the effects of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who, also, was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs; and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority, and thereby engross all power in his own hands.‡

When Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. He accordingly marched with somewhat more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partizans in the city, made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.§

When advice of this was brought to Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which most exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the

* Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales, p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 9. iv. 29. et iii. 33.

† 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 311.

‡ Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

§ 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

city, took it by storm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused eighty thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary, and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the show-bread, the candlestick with seven branches, belonging to the sanctuary; all these were of gold; with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judea and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense sums.* To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judea, a Phrygian, named Philip, a man of great cruelty; he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phenomena in the skies, which had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback, and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who, forming considerable bodies, combatted in the air like two armies in battle.†

The Alexandrians, seeing Philometer in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void.‡ On this occasion, he had the name of Ptolemy Evergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of Cacergetes; the former signifying Beneficent, and the latter Malevolent. He afterwards was called Phiscon, § or Tun-bellied, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. || Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.¶

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly toward Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken on the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their meditation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on

* We are told in the Maccabees, Book II. c. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple only eighteen hundred talents.

‡ 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.

† A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

§ Φισκων, ventricosus, obesus. ἰκν φῦσκα, Crassum intestinum, venter.

|| Athen. l. iv. p. 184.

¶ Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxvi.

the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometer. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all their powers of rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Cœlosyria and Palestine; alleged the reasons we have related above; and produced some authentic instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; promising them that he would make preparations for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings, and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt that Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria: that, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.*

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such a height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; and that, should either of the parties refuse a compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

A short time before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to the camp of Antiochus. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these points, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in a few words, that they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder

* Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc.

of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.*

He said these words, but harboured a very different design; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforward be his interest to keep up an enmity, and occasion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to subdue both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched toward Memphis, and gave Philometer, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.†

Philometer began at last to awake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through the design of Antiochus; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view than to re-enter by it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant, therefore, that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother, that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometer returned to Alexandria, Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoken from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometer to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts: and I before observed, that he concealed, beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

The brothers convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only a thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising a thousand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him, the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the least inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thousand men, consequently, so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they had now of aid-

* Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv

† Liv. l. xlv. n. 11

ing the two kings; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.*

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicily; and as the members were on the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus; and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly, he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: at the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometer, who told him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.†

The time having elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at Eleusine,‡ which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was a hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself, on that occasion, as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bade him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then, raising his voice, "Answer," said he, "the senate, before you stir out of that circle." The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act ac-

* Polyb. in Legat. lxxxix — xci.

† A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xlv. c. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

‡ Turnebius and H. Valesius think that *sc* should read, in Livy, "Eleusineum," instead of "Lucanum."

cording to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards, in all respects, as an old friend. How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman, with a few words, struck terror into the king of Syria, and saved the king of Egypt.*

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant, every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home the fleet of Antiochus, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians: restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it; and returned to Rome in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra, their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, "that the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How grovelling, and, at the same time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "that the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered, by the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege; and re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that the people and senate of Rome were pleased with him for it." I think this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered, "that the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them some service; and that he would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and protection of the Romans, as the most solid support of their kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECTION III.—PROCEEDINGS OF ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS. HIS ARMIES LOSE SEVERAL VICTORIES. HE IS STRUCK BY THE HAND OF GOD.

ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached twenty-two thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.†

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the Sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received; and setting all his troops upon

* *Quam efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syria; regnum terruit, Egypti textit.*—Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

† A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 162. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27 Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. "

them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men ; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared ; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered ; and set fire to in several parts, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the houses as were still standing ; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation ; they made it a good depot of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple ; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices, not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages ; to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, together with their religion.*

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution ; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seemed not to have been affected with the change of their worship, or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews ; and desired that their temple, built on Mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular,† might henceforward be dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously, and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or, from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives, many fell from Israel ;‡ and several of those who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became, as is but too common, greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant who was sent into Judea and Samaria, to see that the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances

* Maccab. i. 41—64. and 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xxii. c. 7.

† They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel, Jehovah, was never uttered by the Jews.

‡ 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbade the circumcision of children; carried off and burned all the copies of the law whenever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country, and put to death all who were found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels, filled with idols, were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month in which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals, sacrificed there.

One of these officers, named Apelles came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son of John, and grandson of Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed Gaddis; Simon, surnamed Thasi; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus; Eleazar, called Abaron; and Jonathan, called Apphus. On arriving at Modin, Appelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that he and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet he, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.*

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction, fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a just and holy indignation, he fell upon the apostate, and killed him; after this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner, and all his followers.† Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city, "Whoever is zealous of the law,‡ and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me." As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they were soon followed by others; so that all the deserts of Judea were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

At first, when the Jews were attacked on the Sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. But they soon became sensible, that the law of the Sabbath was not binding on persons in such imminent danger.§

Advice being brought to Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judea as in all other nations, he went thither in person, in order

* *Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque a servitute legis patrum suorum, et consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, et filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.* 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

† God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. *Deut. x. xii. ver. 6—11.*

‡ *Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.* 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

§ 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them.* At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important, and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of the Scripture.†

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away; but, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But, Eleazar preferring a glorious death to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law, to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; and by that means save his life. But, Eleazar considering only what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired of him. "It would be shameful," said he to them, "for me, at this age, to use such an artifice; as many young men, upon the supposition that Eleazar, at ninety years of age, had embraced the principles of the heathens, would be imposed upon by such deceit, which I should have employed to preserve the short remains of a corruptible life; and thereby I should dishonour my old age, and expose it to the curses of all men. Besides, suppose I should by that means avoid the punishment of men, I could never fly from the hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come. For this reason, if I lay down my life courageously, I shall appear worthy of old age; and still leave behind me, for the imitation of young people, an example of constancy and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable death, for the sake of our venerable and holy laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, than he was dragged to execution. The officers who attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity toward him, grew furious upon what he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said, "O Lord! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body, but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time, seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh, contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him, "What is it thou wouldst ask or have of us? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he counsel

* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167 Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. et v.

† 2 Maccab. c. vi. et vii

the tongue of that man who had spoken first to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. While these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying, "The Lord God will have regard to truth; he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and, after the hair of his head, with the skin, were torn away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him; otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, "I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brothers. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king, "Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terrestrial life; but the King of heaven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and, afterwards, stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said, "I received these limbs from heaven, but now I despise them, since I am to defend the laws of God; from the sure and steadfast hopes that he will one day restore them to me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and, being ready to die, he said to the monarch, "It is for our advantage to be killed by men, because we hope that God will restore us to life at the resurrection; but you, O king! will never rise to life."

The fifth, while they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus, "You now act according to your own will and pleasure, because you are invested with absolute human power, though you are but a mortal man. But do not imagine that God has forsaken our nation. Wait but a little, and you will see the wondrous effects of his power; and in what manner he will torment yourself and your race."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said, "Do not deceive yourself: it is true, indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite tortures which we now suffer: but do not flatter yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having presumed to make war against God himself."

In the mean time, their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld, with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, and, uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them, "I know not in what manner you were formed in my womb; for it was not I who inspired you with a soul and with life, nor formed your members; but I am sure that the Creator of the world, who fashioned men, and who gave being to all things, will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return for your having despised it here, out of the love you bear to his laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power, and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth, being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised; and, going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him, in her native language, "Son, have pity on me; on me, who bore you nine months in my womb; who for three years fed you with milk from my breasts, and brought you up ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and earth, and every thing they contain, and firmly to believe that God formed them all, as well as man. Fear

not that cruel executioner; but show yourself worthy of your brethren, by submitting cheerfully to death; in order that, by the mercy of God, I may receive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud, "What is it you expect from me? I do not obey the king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom flow all the calamities with which the Hebrews have been afflicted, you shall not escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, are owing to our sins: but, if the Lord our God, to punish us, was for a little time angry with us, he at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers, after having suffered for a moment the most cruel torments, they taste eternal joys. In imitation of the example they have set me, I freely give up my body and life for the laws of my forefathers: and I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you, by wounds and tortures of every kind, to confess that he is the only God; and that his anger, which has justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin in the burying place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.*

Antiochus, finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne, near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite the spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given him by Daniel,† who calls him a vile or contemptible man, as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-stock of them all: and many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy of a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feast to which he invited them.‡

He had scarcely ended the solemnization of these games, when Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on the actions of Antiochus. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who spread such reports of him. Antiochus, besides other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador should have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses; for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself on the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and enable him to carry on his preparations.§

* A. M. 3338. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12. † Dan. xi. 21.

‡ Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

§ Polyb. Legat. 101—104. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322.

While Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne Judas was acting a very different part in Judea. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and was also defeated and killed in the battle.*

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. He immediately assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his treasury, having exhausted them in the foolish expenses he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents which he bestowed on individuals, and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes in proper season, but most frequently without sense or reason.† On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should “scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches;”‡ and the author of the Maccabees says, that he had been exceeding liberal, and had “abounded above the kings that were before him.”§ We are told by Athenæus,|| that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expense, were first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometer in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends by way of free gifts; lastly, which was the most considerable article, the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel’s prophecy, “from the tidings” which came to him “out of the East and out of the North.”¶ For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance, by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished, and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead.** These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the necessary expenses.

To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts; to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the royal blood, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to restate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lysias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and the care of his son’s education, who afterwards was called Antiochus Eupater, he being then only seven years of age. After passing Mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, defeated Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble than to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in *its*

* 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.

† Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

‡ Dan. xi. 24.

§ 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

|| Athen. l. v. p. 195.

¶ Dan. xi. 44. et. Hieron. in hunc locum.

** 1 Maccab. iii. 29

neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself, that he there should find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon their former prosperous foundations.*

While he was forming all these projects, Lysias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more despatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made rapid progress, and increased in strength, by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judea, seeing the success of Judas, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, on which Judea depended; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lysias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken to send an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judea. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant general; sent him before, at the head of twenty thousand men, with Georgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants who came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay the two thousand talents, which the king still owed to the Romans on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war, should be sold at the rate of ninety for a talent. A resolution had indeed been taken, to cut to pieces all the male adults; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, as it was a very low price, flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics, and the persons they should want to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of so powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and either to conquer, or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the six thousand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

* 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. et iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 2—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian in Syr. p. 117. Ucheron in Dan. xi. 41.

Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side being very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so.* They agreed, however, in one point, viz. both were firmly persuaded they should gain the victory; the one because they had a mighty army of well disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.†

After proclamation had been made, according to the law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire,‡ the army of Judas was reduced to three thousand men. But this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But, receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops, and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprise his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of that very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it. For, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion in every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to disperse for plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains, whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers scattered and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Judas, and the men under his command, then pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead on the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched his soldiers back, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers who were come as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners, and sold. The next day, being the Sabbath, was solemnized in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to a holy joy; and unanimously returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which the human arm is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom alone the fate of battle depends. It is evident, that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. "How can we," says he to the Almighty, before the battle, "stand before them, unless thou thyself assistest us?" And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. "The victory," he had said above, "does not depend on the number of soldiers, but it is from heaven that all our strength comes." But although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employed all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. Ho v excellent a

pattern have we here for generals ! To pray with humility, because all things depend on God ; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.

Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a greater number of troops whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him, to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two lieutenants of Antiochus, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their men.*

Lysias, hearing of the ill success which the arms of Antiochus had met with in Judea, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. Knowing, however, that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. He, accordingly, levied an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all chosen troops ; and, putting himself at their head, he marched into Judea, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.†

He encamped at Bethsura, a city to the south of Jerusalem, toward the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced toward him, at the head of ten thousand men ; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of the Jews, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch ; intending to return and attack them again next year, with a still more powerful body of forces.

Judas being left master of the field, by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them ; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them ; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.‡

This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been regularly paid. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches ; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem. But his design being made known, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunderstruck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.§

To add to his affliction, news was brought to him at that place of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judea. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath ; venting nothing but menaces on his march, and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition toward Babylon, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of the defeat of Lysias, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in it, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. He immediately commanded his charioteers to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance ; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabi-

* 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

† A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

‡ 1 Maccab. iv. 35—51. et v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—3. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

§ A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valer. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 31.

tant in it. He had scarcely uttered that blasphemous expression, when he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholera. "Thus the murderer and blasphemer," says the author of the Maccabees, "having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country, in the mountains."

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock: so far from it, that, suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forward impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a very grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piece-meal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, "It is meet," says he, "to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal, should not think of himself as if he were a god."* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promised to exert his utmost liberality toward his chosen people; to enrich, with precious gifts, the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expense of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped to calm the wrath of God by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in question, "This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him."† Thus this murderer and blasphemer names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of *Illustrious*, which men had bestowed on that prince, being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death.‡

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had reigned eleven years.

SECTION IV.—PROPHECIES OF DANIEL RELATING TO ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

As Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish church, and was, at the same time, the type of the Antichrist, who, in after ages, was to afflict the Christian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

* 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

† 2 Maccab. xiii.

‡ Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the Scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais.—Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

"And in his (Seleucus Philopator's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom : but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries."* This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

"And with the arms of a flood shall they (the Syrians) be overflown before him," Antiochus Epiphanes, "and shall be broken ; yea, also the prince of the covenant."† Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus, and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the "prince of the covenant," we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the chief of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus ; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

The prophet, in the following verses, points out clearly the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

FIRST EXPEDITION OF ANTIOCHUS INTO EGYPT.

"And after the league made with him," with Ptolemy Philometer his nephew, king of Egypt, "he shall work deceitfully ; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people."‡ Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war, "yet he shall assume a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt." He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. But soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt, with a small army, in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was strongest, that is, victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF ANTIOCHUS INTO EGYPT.

"He shall enter peaceably, even upon the fattest places of the province," Egypt, "and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers ; he shall scatter among them," his troops, "the prey and spoil and riches ; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time."§

"And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the South," of Egypt, "with a great army, and the king of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand ; for they shall forecast devices against him."||

"Yea, they that feed on the portion of his" the king of Egypt's "meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow ; and many shall fall down slain."¶

In these three verses appear the principal characters of the second expedition of Antiochus into Egypt ; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practise with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, as soon as the season would permit. "Wherefore, he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt : but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and

* Dan. xi. 21.

† Ver. 22.

‡ Ver. 23.

§ Ver. 24.

|| Ver. 25.

¶ Ver. 26.

fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.”*

Daniel, in some subsequent verses, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

“And at the time of the end shall the king of the South push at him;” Ptolemy is here alluded to; “and the king of the North,” Antiochus, “shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.”†

“He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown: but he shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.”‡

“He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.”§

“But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over the precious things of Egypt,” &c.||

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel’s prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

Diodorus¶ relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that “which his forefathers had not done, nor his father’s fathers.”**

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship, with no other view than to have the better opportunity of ruining him. “They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.”††

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time, the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometer for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes, his younger brother, to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but in reality to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

THIRD EXPEDITION OF ANTIOCHUS INTO EGYPT.

“And both these kings’ hearts shall be to do mischief; and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper; for the end shall be at the time appointed.”‡‡

“Then shall he,” Antiochus, “return into his land with great riches.”§§

The third expedition of Antiochus could scarcely be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometer: “Per honestum speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.”||| After having overcome the Alexandrians in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But, finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again, in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword: “Cui

* 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.

† In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

‡§ Ver. 28.

† Dan. xi. 40.

** 1 Dan. xi. 24.

‡ Ver. 41.

§ Ver. 42.

†† Ver. 26.

||| Liv. l. xlv. n. 19.

|| Ver. 43.

‡‡ Ver. 27

regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat.”* They were then at Memphis, eat at the same table, and behaved toward one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have the nephew’s interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew: “Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut n.ox victorem aggrediretur;”† and the nephew, who saw through his design, “voluntatis ejus non ignarus,” strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving the other: nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

FOURTH EXPEDITION OF ANTIOCHUS INTO EGYPT.

“At the time appointed he shall return and come toward the South; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.”‡

“For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.”§

Advice being brought to Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publicly that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, “he returned toward the South,” that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. As he was advancing to besiege Alexandria, Popilius and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships, for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies, which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt.|| He obeyed, but “with the utmost reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his indignation,” as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, could it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. CRUEL PERSECUTION EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I HAVE mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of the reign of Alexander the Great, and those of his four successors.

“Behold a he-goat came from the West, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground.”¶ Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander’s conquests? “The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven.”** These are Alexander’s four successors. “And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the South, and toward the East, and toward the pleasant land.”†† This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories toward the south, and the east, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple. “And it waxed great,” the horn, “even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.‡‡ Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host,” to God; “and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.§§ And a host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.”|||

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Dan.

|| Liv. l. xlv. n. 19. ¶ Dan. viii. 5.

§§ Ver. 11.

† Liv. Ibid.

** Ver. 3.

‡ Dan. xi. 29.

†† Ver. 9.

‡ Ver. 30.

‡‡ Ver. 10.

||| Ver. 12.

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter. "His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits. He shall return and have indignation against the holy covenant."*

During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty thousand† men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.‡

After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judea, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly, Appollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.§

"He shall return and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part; and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate. And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries," &c.||

Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews were commanded, upon pain of death to change their religion. He sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympus, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they compelled the Jews to offer sacrifices, and partake of meats sacrificed to idols. Many from the dread of torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them, and even prompted others to countenance their base apostasy.¶

"And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he," Antiochus, "corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God, shall be strong and do exploits." This manifestly points out old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.**

"And they that understand among the people shall, instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days,"†† This relates chiefly to Mattathias and his sons.

"Now when they fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries,"‡‡ Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no other than a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

"And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge and so make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed,"§§ The sufferings and death of those who steadfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

"And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined, shall be done."|||

* Dan. xi. 23, 30.

† We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

‡ 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. et ii. 5—21. Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c. § 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. et ii. 24—26.

|| Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.

¶ 1 Maccab. i. xliii. &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7 &c. vi. 1. &c.

** Dan. xi. 32.

†† Ver. 33

‡‡ Ver. 34.

§§ Ver. 35.

||| Ver. 36

"Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all."*

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

"But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to take away many."†

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the east, and Artaxias, king of Armenia, to the north, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus.‡ Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.§

"He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace," [in Apadno] "between the sons in the glorious holy mountain" [of Zabi], yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him."¶ This verse which is literally translated from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words Apadno and Zabi, which were not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up difficulties of this kind. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this alluded to the expedition of Antiochus beyond the Euphrates, and to his death which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount Zabi, doubtless the same with Taba,** "where, according to Polybius,†† he died, and there he shall come to his end," being abandoned by God, and having none "to help him." We have seen how he expired, in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most lively as well as most expressive types of that enemy of Jesus Christ and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us while we are reading this prophecy, not to be forcibly struck at seeing the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretell a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the Spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the Scriptures, and by a necessary consequence, the

* Dan. xi. 37.

† Ver. 44.

‡ Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare admixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in ædibus mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est, nam ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat.—Tacit. l. v. c. 8.

§ 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.

¶ The words between the crotchets of this verse are not in our English translation of the Bible.

¶ Dan. xi. 45.

** Taba, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Paretacena, according to Quintus Curtius.

†† Polyb. in Excerpt. Valsc. p. 145.

certainty of the Christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self-evident ?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. Porphyry,* the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity ; for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the Scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet ; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened ; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. This they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews, whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so great, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in them ; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them ? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were there ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious ? "Thy testimonies are very sure, O Lord, for ever."†

* Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion

† Psal. xciii. 5.

BOOK NINETEENTH.



THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS, CONTINUED

PLAN.

THIS Book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related: he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burned in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally united. That of Syria continued almost one hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometer, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article embraces eleven years, being the whole reign of Persius, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECTION I.—PERSEUS PREPARES FOR WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS. HE ENDEAVOURS A RECONCILIATION WITH THE ACHEANS

THE death of Philip happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it.* That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution, which was to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia, part of Poland. Some Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce; they lived by war, and sold their services to any people who would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed taking every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it; if the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, while the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts.

* A. M. 3226. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ had pursued their route, and were actually at war with the Dardanians.* The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any farther inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return to their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them perished in the river.

It was known at Rome that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius.† It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia, to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the Dolopians,‡ who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition, he advanced toward Delphos, under pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey, at first, alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned to his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to request that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal intention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual means for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, while that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not: that if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

* A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Friensheim ii. liv

† A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. xli. c. 27—29.

Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, on the confines of Epirus.

Archon, the brother of Xenarchus, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "while the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors, sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion equally false. That for the rest it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account, also, of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.*

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which, among the Romans, always preceded a declaration of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes, in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having despatched Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference: whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome.† It was from Rhodes that

* A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173 Liv. l. xlii. n. 2. 5. 6.

† Polyb. Legat. c. 61

Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribbons to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome, in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome, to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured, in the sight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans; that he was upon as good terms with powerful kings: that he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias: that he had found means, to engage the Bœotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates; that it was to Perseus, the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans: that, supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid: that he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and provisions for ten years: that besides his immense annual revenues, from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom: that he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon the simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts founded upon the best information. "For the rest," said he, in concluding, "having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."^{*}

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except what king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to be made public at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master; and what Harpalus, one of them, said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It

was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour; and that the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which those embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and hold Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed, in consequence, with the highest honours, and great presents.

Harpalus, having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not displeased on that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly rejoiced at a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprized of his most secret measures, and began by declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He despatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they threw a number of smaller stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one, who staid to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off, to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him, when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Ægina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe that he was dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and, looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches on that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.*

Perseus had attempted, at the same time, to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed through that city. The King put into his hands a very subtle poison, to be given to Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into

Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son, whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expense of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself to making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and despatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.*

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions of that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies, of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. On their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were disposed to enter into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia, through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors who had been sent to the kings, their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. But to

prevent loss of time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, both of Europe and Asia, had their attention drawn to the two great powers on the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neutral, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped, that if Perseus were victorious, he would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans adhered inviolably, both in war and peace, to the party which Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlosyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious desires. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy through his tender age, was incapable of resolving for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him, out of policy, from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing, however, which party he should choose; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the people were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority among those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government, most of them, having no other views than their private interest; convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those who assented entirely to the king's measures; some, because their debts, and the bad state of their affairs, made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts

of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Roman's to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and, by preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace; because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time, ambassadors arrived from him, who said that the king their master was greatly surprised at their having sent troops into Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would soon be in Macedonia with his army, and that, if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They despatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.*

While they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoken of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great retinue and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that opportunity of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had, besides, a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties, which arose about the ceremonial, were removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedence, they commenced the conference. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint which the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very strongly on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be pleased if the king would

* Liv. l. xlii. n. 37, 44. Polyb. Legat. 63.

assign good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Enmenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him, without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am assured," said he, in concluding, "that my conscience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people is universally extolled, if for such slight causes as scarcely merit complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms, and make war upon kings in alliance with them."*

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He at first feigned great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to yield out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or generals in a condition to act; whereas, on the side of Perseus, every thing was ready; and, if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so adverse to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to the ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus after having formed, through a long course of time, a republic which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. This was the object of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if their union continued. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa, and Haliartus, remained in alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcus and Aulus, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time, Rome sent new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time prytanis, (a principal magistrate) had prepared

* *Conscious mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse: et si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censatis, commisi: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querelæ et expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, et regibus sociis bella inferitis.*—Liv.

the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity : so that, upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they showed them a fleet of forty ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprise was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.*

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He despatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators, only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. "If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be," said he, "the mediators between the two nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders not only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a good, the more you ought to be upon your guard against whoever should attempt to inspire you with different sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means of reducing Greece to slavery, is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to."† The ambassadors were received with great respect ; but were answered, that in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors were also sent into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied ; only two small cities, Coronæa and Haliartus, separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon ability, in negotiation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly and not in disguise and under cover ; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him by open force. That stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour ; but that a victory obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not approve these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and they expressed their approbation of the conduct of the two commissioners. Marcius was sent again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate affairs as

* Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv.—lxviii.

† Cum cæterorum id interesse, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque iudicio excellant, quæ serva atque obscurior fore, si nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus.—Liv.

he should think most consistent with the service of the public, and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved on at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with forty-five galleys from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land forces.

SECTION II.—LICINIUS AND PERSEUS TAKE THE FIELD. THE LATTER HAS AT FIRST CONSIDERABLY THE ADVANTAGE.

THE consul, Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every individual might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of curiosity to see the general to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted, to the wisdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate of a consul at his departure; whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the Capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus: and every body knew, from his succession to the crown, a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius, and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it beneath them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, or as colonels, or brigadiers, and went with him, accompanied also by P. Lentulus, and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and, passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.*

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition, not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor land that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond Mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or oppose the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, while he was still master of it, to consider seriously with himself, whether, by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask as a favour from the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the remainder of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire: or whether he would choose to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the world from the Roman yoke. That there would be no more wonder in driving the Romans out of Greece, than in driving Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, who endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious, than to give up empire without resistance; nor more laudable, than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. "Since you think it so necessary," said the king, "let us make war then with the help of the gods." He gave orders at the same time to his generals, to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of a hecatomb, or one hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed, that since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty-six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars which Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that sudden death had prevented him from putting that design in execution. He added, that immediately after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time marched troops into Greece, to take possession of the strongest places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his opinion, was much superior to the other, not

only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care for many years. "It remains, therefore Macedonians," said he, in concluding, "only to act with the same courage your ancestors showed, when, having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the east, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, that if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, you must resolve to deliver up your arms, with your king and his kingdom, to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the use of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering rams, catapultas, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of Mount Oeta; the consul's was at Gomphi, in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impassable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time, Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brother Attalus and Athenæus; Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though their numbers were inconsiderable, and some galleys. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made among his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. While they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, Eumenes and Attalus being present, a courier came in at full speed, and informed them the enemy were very near, with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and one hundred horse detached, with as many of the light armed foot, to reconnoitre the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no

farther from the Roman camp than about half a league, ordered his foot to halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarcely marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very nearly equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place; the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard, and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very far superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot, toward the camp of the Romans. The dust, which appeared nearer than usual, and was raised by a great number of troops, excited alarm, and those who first brought information of the enemy being so near were scarcely credited, because, for several days preceding, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually on his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king occupied the centre with the horse which always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to the number of about four hundred.

The consul, having drawn up his foot in order of battle within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with a select body of horse; two hundred Gallic horse, and three hundred troops of Eumenes, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thesalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reserved body. Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began with the slings and missile weapons

which were posted in front. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, though brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had among them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon threw the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service, when that wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently, and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw that the enemy was not eager in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus, having learned the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. While he was deliberating with himself, between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander of Crete,* in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he should choose to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neutral, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; and having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return to the camp.

The Romans lost at least two thousand of their light-armed infantry in this battle, and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only twenty cavalry, and forty foot soldiers, were left upon the field. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; especially the Thracians, who, with songs of triumph, carried the heads of those they had killed upon the ends of their pikes; it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expecting every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops till they had recovered from their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops, under cover of the night, and encamped on the opposite bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the great error

* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault, to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For, without putting the rest of the army in motion, if he had only detached his light armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a striking example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the subversion of mighty empires, are owing. No person can read this account without being greatly surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and suffer to escape an almost certain opportunity of defeating his enemy; it requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A motion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought, which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take contrary measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seemed to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers had the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy Scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: "And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them." 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, by having the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the *Ætoliars*. It was said that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The *Thessalians*, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, one thousand cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and, having assembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was a happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He passed great encomiums on the troops who had been in the action, and expatiated in magnificent terms on the victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible: he promised himself from hence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a praiseworthy jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their comrades upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and passion, only to engage with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situated between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the success of so important a battle affected Perseus in the highest degree. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were so in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day; at first, in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security than by being inclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriation of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and, reflecting coolly on all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity: that, therefore, he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renewal of the treaty, on the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip: that he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle: nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him advantageous conditions: that if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.*

The king yielded to these wise remonstrances, to which he had previously been averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him, that they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans which his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, which that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated on the answer proper to be made. The Roman constancy showed itself on this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom at that time to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity.† The answer was, that no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed a pride; the greater part of them considered it needless to think any farther of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed on Philip. When he saw that the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he

* Polyb. Legat. l. ix.

Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis.—Liv.

returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means for success very badly, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he began to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort incline to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered fully to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those whom the Romans had obliged, some of whom suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

At the same time, the prætor Lucretius besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia. After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and Lucretius then returned with his fleet.*

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who, retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops rather than surrender. He was on the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a strong detachment of horse and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave new courage to Pompeius and his troops, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx: the consul did not wait its coming up, but engaged directly. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broken and routed. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the best horse of the troop called the Sacred Squadron, the commander of which, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action reanimated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul, having reduced Perrhœbia, and taken Larissa, and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

SECTION III.—MARCIVS ENTERS MACEDONIA. PERSEVS TAKES THE ALARM; BUT AFTERWARDS RESUMES COURAGE.

NOTHING memorable passed the following year. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of

the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add to his first body of troops, eight thousand men raised among the allies. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus and where he had a strong garrison. Claudius, on the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. While he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sortie upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way, with dreadful slaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarcely two thousand escaped into the camp, which had been left guarded by a thousand soldiers. Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, especially as it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.*

This was the almost universal fault of the commanders of that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.†

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially among the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not free from these divisions: but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which they were fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and it was resolved that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time, Attalus having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who, determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration of the prince who sent them, Eumenes his brother should be restored to the honours the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged on the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

* A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xliii. n. 9 10.

† Polyb. Legat. 74. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

It was at this time that Rome sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.*

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment; Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the greater part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and sent a second embassy to him, without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expense, which denotes a little, mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry, and that if he had made some sacrifices; and those far from being considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring, the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and evil reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found that the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhœbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he encountered in entering Macedonia.†

Perseus, who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much design.‡

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest which covered part of the country, called Octolapha. He had incredible difficulties to sur-

* A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. xliii. n. 11 et 18—23. Polyb. Legat. 76, 77.

† Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

‡ Liv. l. xlv. n. 1—10.

mount, the ways were so steep and impracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant more than a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered ; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even without danger. He had no other choice than to pursue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determined perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a severe blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans an opportunity of extricating themselves from the difficulties in which they were involved.

They however did not effect this without great trouble ; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially, gave them great trouble ; it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having removed the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance from each other of something more than the breadth of an elephant. On those beams they laid planks thirty feet in length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, they erected a second, then a third, and so on, with sufficient intervals to as many of the same kind as were requisite. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams that supported it gradually, and let him gently down with the bridge : and so in succession to the last bridge or foot of the declivity. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to stand. It was agreed, that with a handful of men, the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

As the consul seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindest terms, told them they might spare themselves the trouble and expense which that war would give them ; that he would dispense with both ; and that in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse of the colleagues, Polybius returned into Achaia.*

Polybius remained with the Roman army only till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thousand men to be sent to him in Epirus, despatched him home, with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expenses entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid.

* Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was it his wish to spare the Achæans, or lay a snare for them? or did he intend to put it out of the power of Appius to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. The news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent the gilt statues at Dium* on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures, laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his galleys at Thessalonica burned. For himself, he returned to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passage open for him but by two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the valleys of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king: so that if Perseus had maintained his ground for ten days it would have been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass open for provisions. For the roads through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarcely sustain the view of them. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, the last of which was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel.† For in making a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of Mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopped them short. But in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul rightly perceived, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium, suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself, therefore, of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

* These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

† Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.—Liv.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships in Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as it indeed happened; Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost all the money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, and inflicted the same penalty on Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence nor importance.

When Polybius returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus, the letter of Appius, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after, the council assembled at Sicyon, to deliberate on that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcus, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, which prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means, Polybius saved the Achæans one talent at least.*

In the mean time, ambassadors arrived at Rome, from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that, having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added, that while the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus: that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side: that for three years, which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it: that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce: that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they had also sent to Rome to make the same declaration: that if either of the parties refused to assent to so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.†

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, that the answer given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say that the senate answered in few words, that

* Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

† Liv. l. xlv. n. 14, 15, 16

the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The letter of Q. Marius, the consul, was then read, giving an account of the manner in which he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers: that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were fully and immediately executed.

After this, they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he admonished him to do the same, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, finding himself suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge among the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECTION IV.—CELEBRATED VICTORY OF ÆMILIUS NEAR THE CITY OF PYDNA. PERSEUS TAKEN PRISONER, WITH ALL HIS CHILDREN.

THE time for the comitia, or the assemblies, to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was spoken of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who was driven beyond Mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that in which they were now engaged.*

All eyes were cast upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was nearly sixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment, more necessary in a general than even

* A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlv. n. 17 Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

va.our and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, urged him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship; but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. But, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they summoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he yielded at last to their remonstrances, and appearing among those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia was decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all his people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who, on seeing him, began to cry bitterly. He embraced her, and asked the cause of her tears. Tertia, pressing him with her little arms. "You do not know then, father," said she, "that our Perseus is dead." She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called Perseus. "And at a very good time, my dear child," said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word, "I accept this omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition in this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

The manner in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as correctly as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprized of all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved of these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.*

During their absence, audience was given to the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. On their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to secure an entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king had advanced into Pieria, and was in actual possession of it: that the two camps

* Liv. l. xliv. n. 18, 22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

were **very near each other**, being separated only by the river **Enipæus** : that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a conditon to oblige them to fight, nor to force his lines : that, in addition to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting ; and that they had only provisions for six days : that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men : and if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against Gentius ; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he be ordered directly to quit the post which he was in. That, after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet : that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases : that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, had returned home ; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers : that those who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes : that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause : and that his inclinations neither could nor should be relied on : but that, as for his brother Attalus, his good will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops which each was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to twenty-five thousand eight hundred men ; that is, of two Roman legions, each composed of six thousand foot and three hundred horse ; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had besides six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to thirty thousand men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions ; but they consisted of only five thousand foot, and three hundred horse each ; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horse, composed an army of twenty-one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet were five thousand men. These three bodies together, amounted to fifty-six thousand two hundred men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia seemed of the first importance ; all precautions were taken that might conduce to its success. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected to this employment, but such as had already served ; and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army. He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed that the Romans acted with great wisdom on this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the person among them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, acquired in real service ; advantages that are not always the effect of birth and seniority, to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more ; by a particular exception, compatible with a republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former who is in a manner the soul of the army.

and ought to direct all its motions ; which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a desire for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner : " You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office • and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived, that I should put an end, worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I have reason to believe that the same gods,* who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully : but of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary in the expedition I am charged with, and as I am ordered to set out immediately, I shall make no delay ; and I know that my colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public service, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes : and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters ; but I beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not give credit to, or lay any weight, out of credulity, upon the light reports which are frequently spread abroad without any foundation. I perceive well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever resolution people may form to obviate these rumours, they will not fail to make impression, and inspire I know not what discouragement. There are those who, in company, and even at table, command armies, make dispositions, and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They know better than we where we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for us to seize ; at what time, and by what defile, we ought to enter Macedonia ; where it is proper to have magazines ; from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring provisions ; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They not only prescribe what is best to do, but for deviating ever so little from their plans, they make it a crime in their consul, and cite him before their tribunal. But know, Romans, the effect of this is very prejudicial to your generals. All have not the resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent reports. He could choose rather to suffer the people, upon such unhappy rumours, to invade his authority, than to ruin affairs, in order to preserve their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from believing, that generals stand in no need of advice ; I think, on the contrary, that whoever would conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without counsel, shows more presumption than prudence. But some may ask, How then shall we act reasonably ? In not suffering any person to obtrude their advice upon your generals, but such as are, in the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learned from experience what it is to command ; and, in the second, who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes, and share with us in all dangers. If there be any one who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia ; ships, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied him at my charge. But if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the danger and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in the port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects ; but as for these, let him be silent upon them ; and know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp itself."

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations that the Divinity resides over chance

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have a propensity for examining, criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals; and do not observe, that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice. What can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot: the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, which has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.*

While they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus, on his side, was not idle. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money, and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that island, which was very powerful at sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavoring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He should have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity and his affairs were next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were very solid and persuasive, as we shall see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both these kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another; and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them in succession. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; a part of which they had already usurped, under the specious colour of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes really desired that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy: neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes of seeing the two parties equally inclined to peace, Perseus, from the fear of the misfortunes which might befall him, and the Romans, from being weary of a war protracted to too great a length, he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents. The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money which broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse, and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops; and gave orders, that in towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and robes; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed among a small number. He imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question, "Go," said he, "and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence." The king, on the return of his deputy assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them that his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised a universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far, to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having again asked Antigonus whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse, as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no di-

rect answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were about to cut him in pieces, and he strongly apprehended. However they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, the entrance to which he might have barred with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no more provisions, as before, from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded, for more than a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty with the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents, in part of the sum promised him. Gentius despatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join the ambassadors of Perseus, and go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians joined in it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrians repaired to Pela, where the money was paid to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given secret orders to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by small journeys and when they arrived on the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean time ambassadors arrived from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights, human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, "that victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expense of victory."

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their influence and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was equally rapid and fortunate. He conducted the war against Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only thirty days. Having treated Scodra the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at the feet of Anicius to implore his mercy; confessing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to release the two ambassadors from prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory; and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers at proper distances, on which were placed balistas, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes of weakening, and at last repulsing Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to contend with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licentiousness in which it had been suffered to indulge. He reformed several things, both with regard to the arms of the troops and the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom among the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions among themselves, to prescribe his conduct, and to point out what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and of his provisions,* that he might be always in readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared, that they had never known their duty rightly all that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises: so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming in contact with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended

* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

to every thing, seeing Mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and, at the same time, ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface was scarcely broken up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a short time very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection, and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.*

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius and Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited among the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured, at first, to suppress this news; but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general among his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace, which at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought, the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To show how little he regarded the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate on the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly, perhaps on account of provisions; for at present they were consulting measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They observed that the Macedonians, who, the year before, had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the seacoasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipæus, as well from its natural situation, as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew, besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, would only have exposed his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve

* Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigenes turbidæ primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam mutamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque; res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit.—Liv.

them as his children. He kept quiet, therefore, for some days, without making the least movement. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. At any other time, the soldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the brow of Mount Olympus :* that this way was not difficult of access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of five thousand men. He conceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night, by surprise, and by good troops, the enemy might be driven out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and, having explained himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten day's provisions with him for a thousand men, in order to make Perseus believe, that he was going to ravage the seacoasts. At the same time, he made his son, Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out : he gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the seaside toward Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their route by the seacoast, they advanced, without halting, toward Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded, that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time, Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day, in the morning, detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action was fought in the sight of the king and consul, who were at the head of their troops in the front of their respective camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded toward noon. The loss was nearly equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans besides having to contend in close engagement, were annoyed by the enemy from the tops of the towers on the banks, who poured volleys of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost many more men this day, and made them retire late. The third day, Paulus Æmilius lay still and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day, near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thousand foreign soldiers, with two thousand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very warm engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in sus-

* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten miles, or half a league.

pense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a council, to deliberate on proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had many inconveniences, and argued that the prince was reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded, but executed in person. While Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons reanimated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantages of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind, resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare, level country, very advantageous for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there was a ridge of little hills, which uniting, gave the light-armed foot, and the archers, a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season, for it was then about the end of summer, but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius having arrived at Pythium, and joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the seacoast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate on what to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to entreat him to give battle without delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon Mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays: that he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take circuitous marches through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him, therefore, while the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present, satisfy yourself, and rely upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, convinced that the consul had good reason for acting as he did.

After having spoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in order of battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers, covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were very numerous, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans decline fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was a uniform custom among the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves beyond insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for a retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.*

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, while they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by degrees, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers with the consul's permission, had apprised them of the eclipse, and showed them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers, therefore, were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread: and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the twenty-first he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of one hundred oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably, by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, it would not have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, from which they had suffered much, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain. In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here, that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general: the former have only to desire

* *Majoris vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt.—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium.*—Liv. l. xliv. n. 20

... he gave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and count are every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.*

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians came to assist these foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says, being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemy joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt of the success of the battle. But, not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and threw it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men, upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave such heavy thrusts to those who pressed upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front line being thus thrown into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but instead of advancing, they retreated toward Mount Olocris.† When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and, continuing invincible, it could neither be broken nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sepius quam temeritate prodesse.—Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.

† That mountain was evidently part of Olympus

Line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed that the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, while it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battalion, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was soon broken, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; on the contrary they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarcely discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules was a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face the enemy; whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there, also, that the son of Cato, son-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm; so that at length the three thousand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that twenty-five thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only one hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of

the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far, so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy and crowns of laurel.*

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was universally alarmed, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches among the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very far advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him again, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately despatched three couriers of distinction, of whom his son Fabius was one, to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time, Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and, carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse with his own hand. Several of those who attended him, took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander, of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely ruined him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and submitted.

The consul, having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmi-

* This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes, in the third book of the civil war, "That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy.—*I. etiam Lentuli ac ceterorum tabernacula protecta hedera*"

ius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped at Sires, an obscure city, on the eastern frontier of Macedonia, in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a striking example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, "Perseus, the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting," the stupid ignorance which that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in a humble and suppliant style, and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived that he was henceforth to forget his title. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time, the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it; but he endeavoured, by promises and threats, to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman, named Acilius, either of himself, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of the sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them, "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum, throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so, "How, then," continued he, "do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by a homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent, therefore, to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him, in the strongest terms, not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for giving this council, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and, therefore, gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed, at first, to consent to it, and, professing that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means of embarking and making his escape. But, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus secretly gained a certain Cretan,

called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to two thousand talents. But so suspicious was he, that he did not dispossess himself of the whole; he sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and sent word to Perseus, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a decayed house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had entrusted his other children to Ion, of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius, which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself, and Philip, his son, to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul, having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law, Tubero, to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival, rose from his seat, and, advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him, "What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest danger?" When, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence, Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprised at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side, how could you prefer war to peace, with a people, whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus made no farther answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question. "In whatever manner, notwithstanding," resumed the consul, "these affairs have happened; whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved in regard to many other kings and nations, should inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: then, turning toward the Romans, "You see," said he, in his own language, "a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us never to use any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much on our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valour is, neither to be too elate in prosperity, nor too dejected in adversity.* Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero

* "*Exemplum insigne cernitis,"* inquit, "*mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsentì credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat incertum sit. Is denum vir erit, cujus animus nec prospera flatus* offeret, *nec adversa infirmitas.*"—*l. iv.*

with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed in the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had reigned eleven years.* He was reckoned the fortieth† king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend, however, beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia: and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted something more than one hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so-much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, while the games were celebrating in the circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended, with clapping of hands, and cries of victory, throughout the whole circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps a presage of victory, which either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies relieved the Romans from their anxiety. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection granted to the republic.

After the nomination of new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius. Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free; in order that all nations might know, that the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who are under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them, in consideration of the

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

† Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth; Justin the thirtieth. It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth, according to Eusebius.

Romans; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land estates; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that whenever such sort* of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation, lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive license. Macedonia was divided into four regions; each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius, having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.†

Before the deputies for Macedonia arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpitius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, the brother of Eumenes.‡

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him greatly. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, “that the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.”

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophœnius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the oracle descended.§ He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercyma, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophœnius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulus, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where many objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or the art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

* Et publi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis esse.—Liv.

† A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

‡ Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

§ For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II

While Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming their minds by the study of sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have not only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues; who held it an honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a writer of excellent sense, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman.* Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way; and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, the master-piece of Phidias, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that "This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer."† Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with great liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpitius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir ævitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus bellis ac togæ dotibus, ingeniiq; ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac sensit.—Paterc. l. i. c. 12

† To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias, but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

the hands of Posthumous, with orders to guard him better. He caused his daughter and younger son to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners having arrived there, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in the tribunal, and after causing silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate, and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of one hundred talents; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged; that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that each should have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands and houses, out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them; but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending of a body in pieces, by separating its members which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.*

The consul afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians.† I shall relate else where the subject of it.

After these foreign affairs were over, Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at great expense, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.‡

To these serious affairs succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expenses; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them,

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30

† Ibid. l. xlv. n. 31

‡ Ibid. n. 32

he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evinced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should show so distinguishing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.*

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be disposed of in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for this purpose, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues, and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And, as people were surprised at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness, for he never even saw the gold and silver found among the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to its being applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the library of Perseus for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not possess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks; and, after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.†

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He, therefore, sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public place, and, at ten o'clock, the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, which were abandoned to them, to be plundered at their mercy. One hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and,

* Plut in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

† Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

after the cities, to the number of nearly seventy, were pillaged, their walls were demolished. The whole booty was sold, and, of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had about one mina, four hundred denarii, and each of the foot about half a mina, two hundred denarii.

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius, having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, having arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in the galley of king Perseus, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found among the booty. All the Romans who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of discipline, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by their avarice threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.*

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian History. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed ten talents,† was valued for the gold only at one talent. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Besides these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. There were two sons and a daughter, who were incapable of comprehending the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, while their father was scarcely regarded, and, in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, "The favour he asks of me is in his own power, he can procure it for himself." He reproached, in those few words, his cow-

* Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

† The talent weighed sixty pounds

ardice and excessive love of life, which the pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know that it is never lawful to attempt one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that which he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his ancient services than his late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom; that the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

THIS article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECTION I.—ATTALUS COMES TO ROME TO CONGRATULATE THE ROMANS ON THEIR SUCCESS IN MACEDONIA.

AMONG the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, drew upon him, more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republic's aid against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans on their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determined attachment to the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city, attended by a very numerous train.*

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not perceive, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps would never have entered into his mind, if they had not been suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that that prince had never been sincerely on their side, and that he only waited an opportunity to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the

* A. M. 3927. Ant. J. C. 17. Polyb. Legat. xlii. Liv. l. xiv. c. 19, 20.

most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business on which his brother had sent him to treat, but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend, incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was strong to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, with some degree of attention, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved, solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it: that only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect: that Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being,) he could leave his throne only to his next brother: that his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestible; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom, with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the end: that if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? that he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror: that not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them: that that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods, who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons who, less out of friendship for him than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent

and disinterested friend appear at such a time? What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him, the liberty of speaking freely and without reserve to him, and of being known by them in that light? The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect upon Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting that the investiture of *Ænus* and *Maronæa*, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised beforehand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him in possession of the two cities as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended at finding that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner revoked the promise they had made him; and before the prince was out of Italy, declared *Ænus* and *Maronæa* free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions from those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise.* They at first refused to hear them, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at this, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as supplicants, dressed in mourning-habits, and with their faces bathed in tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He knew that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke, had rendered still more criminal; but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there was no republic nor city, that did not include some bad members. That after all, there were no other crimes objected to them than words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation, but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all who speak with little respect of his divinity. "But said he, "the neutrality observed by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity in regard to you. Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself.† But let your severity be carried to that excess, the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal, ought the real services we have rendered you, in the two preceding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let

* Polyb. Legat. xciii—xcix. c. et. civ. Liv. l. xiv. n. 20—25.

† Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatam esse ut si quis vellet inimicum perire. nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnatur.—Liv.

Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, bear witness in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; and, for the third, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes; for you are now on the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will embark, with all our estates and effects; we will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives, and our children, to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, we shall, at least, spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may, by your resolves, declare yourselves our enemies; but there is a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts, that declares quite the contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may act against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants.*

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands toward the senators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius* has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, that he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetic style which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was paid to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity," says he, "in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures, which a calm situation of mind would enable us to discern and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair, till, having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity."† He adds, "that he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all

* Liv. l. vii. c. 5.

† Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tandem processit, nequid in consulendo adversi evenia, quod nostras secundas res confutet, neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto; secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadèque uti tæc res aliquot dies proficiatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

other states; sentiments which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their only crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one among us, that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure I would not.* The Rhodians, it is said, are proud. I should be very sorry that my children could justly make me that reproach. But, pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder than we are?†

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato, prevented a war with the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for two hundred talents, of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of one hundred and twenty talents. At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For, instead of a million of drachmas, to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only one hundred and fifty thousand.

The senate's answer having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take up arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to insensible of small ones. However hard those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, at the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of ten thousand pieces of gold,‡ and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost one hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic. They were unwilling to fetter their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; while they remained free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies; not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before observed, that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius, in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of

* Qui accerime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinent, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo opinor; nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolum.

† Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi a liberis meis minime peci velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinent? Idne irascimini, siquis superior est quam nos?

‡ This might amount to twenty-seven thousand dollars.

their complaints was, that Lycischus and Tisippus, whom the influence of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered them very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons in the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates of both had been given up to their accusers. The inquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Persens or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was just? or, if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?*

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partizans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter were in reality, much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were many others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the pretext of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those who had only the interest of the commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners were highly pleased with these reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with numerous favours? We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle, as appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

Of all the small states of Greece, none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia,

or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their influence to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.*

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partizans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse, by name, all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus: but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and very brave, would refuse obedience to the letters that should be written them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, should run the risk of their lives in the assembly: the second, because in the letters, which had been found among the papers of Perseus, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, Pausanias does not say which, complained in the assembly that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great repute, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest, that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, which I am ready to prove, either in the assembly of the Achæans, or at Rome before the senate." The Romans took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates, should be sent to Rome in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused more than a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized, and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of those exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interest of the Achæan league during his government of it. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed those

* A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417

learned lessons of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with the second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history or, at least, collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans, surprised and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome, with Euræus at their head, to protest again before the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræus, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles, without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote to Callicrates, and other partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into consternation. A universal mourning succeeded. They were convinced, that there was nothing farther to hope for the accused Achæans, and, that their banishment was perpetual.

They, however, sent two deputies with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as supplicants, and as a favour; lest, in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would persist in the regulations already made.

The Achæans would not be rejected, and appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to

* Polyb. *Legat. cv.*

† Polyb. *I. Legat. cxii.*

demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exiles.*

The Achæans, having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation.† The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored to the possession of their estates, and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn, "To see us," said he, "dispute a whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, would not one believe, that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine at last to send back the exiles to Peloponnesus. Polybius was desirous that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but, before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him smiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left there." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, for, three years after, he was with him at the siege of Carthage.‡

SECTION III.—ARLARATHES DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON. DEATH OF EUMENES. WAR BETWEEN ATTALUS AND PRUSIAS.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans on their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Prusias, king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

Prusias, having come to Rome, to offer to the senate and Roman people his congratulations on the success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes, and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies, "You see," said he, "one of your freed-men, ready to fulfil whatever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs." When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, "I salute you, gods preservers," cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing. he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius

* A. M. 3344. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Legat. cxxix. cxx.

† Put. in Cato. Cons. p. 341

‡ See the note on p. 199.

had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.*

Prusias had scarcely left Rome, when advice came, that Eumenes was on the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend nor an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate passed a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbade all kings to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.†

This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he had made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians, his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians secretly, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.‡

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made, seemed fully to confute all complaints against the king; and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate despatched Sulpitius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

Sulpitius acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty that set all malecontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies.§

Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That prince died some time after||. His son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him. His mother was Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great; and his father intended, when he became of age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called Philopator, that is, lover of his father. An action, highly laudable in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.¶

* A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

Polyb. Legat. xcvii. † A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. Polyb. Legat. xcvii. cii. civ. cv. cvi. cxix. cxxi.

‡ Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

|| A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

¶ M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 169. Diad. Elog. p. 395.

As soon as the young king ascended the throne, he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty which his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him with praises.*

Some time after, notwithstanding that Eumenes assisted him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holofernes.† Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed, that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a very common course of policy with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.‡

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually engaged in war with either Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died after having reigned thirty-eight years.§ He left for his successor in the kingdom, his son Attalus, surnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his son and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom twenty-one years.||

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings his cotemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations.¶ The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarcely deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince. To finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that, though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it: but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

The division which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and, violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march.** Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore the aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded these orders, either by delays or open treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus.†† His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon

* Polyb. Legat. cxxi.

† A. M. 3345. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxvi.

‡ A. M. 3347. Ant. J. C. 157.

§ Strabo says, he reigned forty-three years, but he is presumed to be in error.

|| Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

¶ Polyb. Exempt. Virt. et Vit. p. 106.

** A. M. 3348. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxxiii. cxxxiv. cxxxv.

†† A. M. 3349. Ant. J. C. 155.

that account. Rome, at other times, would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. On this occasion, she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies, both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should immediately give twenty decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents, in the space of twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they were before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them one hundred talents. When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger, son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome, in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.*

Prusias also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus.† He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to assassinate the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, the ambassadors of Attalus demonstrating that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses their master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince, having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people to his party; for Prusias was universally abhorred for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called the Hunter, and had reigned at least thirty-six years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.‡

The person of this king of Bithynia, had nothing in it to prepossess people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only

* Polyb. Legat. cxi.

† A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 4

‡ A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

timorous, but soft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and most of all among the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day, he lived a true Sardapalus: so that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.*

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome about the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians, but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect of the Academics, Diogenes, of the Stoics, and Critolaus, of the Peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking, that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it.† The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament exalted each other, transported and enchanted them. It was the common topic of conversation, that a Greek of extraordinary merit had arrived, who, from his great knowledge, was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it; apprehending that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill founded the prejudice of Cato was. However that may be, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be despatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine in which they had been condemned was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The other embassy was sent by the people of Marseilles.‡ They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by means of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to

* Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

† A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 15. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

‡ Polyb. Leg. cxxxii. et cxxxiv.

be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beaten and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands among the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time, in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles as they formerly had.*

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in great estimation, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They drew their origin from Phocæa, a city of Ionia†. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, as many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath, never to return to Phocæa till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city, since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the 45th Olympiad, and six hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness being dead, his son did not show them so much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand that those strangers whom he had received into his country as guests and supplicants might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest‡. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then by great entreaties obtained a second term to bring them up, and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from which she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had, in consequence, at first, a rude war upon their hands, but being victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted to them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time, they settled several colonies, and built several cities: Agde, Nice, Antibæ, Olbea; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.§

So many new settlements contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them.|| The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives. Hence so surprising an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, that Greece had not come to Gaul, but that Gaul had been transferred to Greece.¶

The inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical, that is to say in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of six hundred senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number, fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in the quality of principal magistrates.**

* Egitna.

† Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. xliiii. c. 3.

‡ Ibid. c. 4.

§ Strab. p. 130.

|| Justin. l. xliiii. c. 4.

¶ Adeo magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur.—Justin.

** Strab. l. iv. p. 179

The right of hospitality was in singular estimation among the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.*

All entrance was prohibited to such as would introduce sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They prided themselves especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality.† The most considerable portion among them did not exceed one hundred pieces of gold. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," says he, "stedfastly retaining the ancient severity of manners, excluded from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlawful love."‡ The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Lest," adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people more apt to imitate them."§

They would not admit, in funeral ceremonies, those indecent tears and lamentations with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased. "For is it consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"||

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola, his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age;¶ he adds, "what had preserved him from the dangers and disorders to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants, the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united." Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Marseilliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum."

From what I have said, it may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and, at the same time, for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly professed there. This city produced the most ancient of the learned men of the west, I mean Pythias, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.**

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Augustus, the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great

* Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

† Strab. l. iv. p. 181.

‡ Lib. ii. c. 6.

§ Eadem civitas servitatis custos acerima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

|| Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?

¶ Mater Julia Procilla fuit raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestam artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit.—Tacit. in Agric. c. 17.

** Voss. in Histor. Græc.

deal. We have already seen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republic. "I am assured," says he, "that not only in Greece, but all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and language of all other Greeks situated in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations that surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of its government."*

They laid it down as a fundamental rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the barbarians around them. Besides which, their proximity to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.†

Justin relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice that the Gauls had taken and burned Rome, they deplored that disaster of the allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome.‡ The Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting among the senators at the public shows.§ It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill success which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, against whom they had shut their gates, called the fifteen senators, who were in supreme authority, to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them.|| After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: that they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which was right: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city, and, at the same time, its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent on them neither to assist nor suffer the one into their city or ports, to the prejudice of the other.¶ They suffered a long siege, in which they displayed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance

* Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus anteponendam jure dicam; quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguaque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam æmulari.—Orat. pro Flacc. n. 63.

† Strab. l. iv. p. 180.

‡ Justin. l. xliii. c. 5.

§ Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

|| Cæs. in Bell. Civ. l. i.

¶ Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere ultra pars justiore habere causam: principes vero eorum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbem aut portus recipere.

ne could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.*

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place, some of those favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECTION III.—ANDRISCUS, PRETENDED SON OF PERSEUS, CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

FIFTEEN or sixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, pretending to be the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some branch of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age; and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and entrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him, Philip, as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time, pressing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized, and sent to Rome.†

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manner that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army among the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the sake of delivering themselves, by his means, from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming

* Cæsar. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

† A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epitom. Liv. . xlvi. — 50 Zonares ex Dion. l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to raise troops immediately for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

It was well known, however, at Rome, from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalma, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elated with his success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king, consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Violence, confiscations of estates, and murders were committed on all sides. Taking advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.*

Q. Cæcilius Metellus lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in sight of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a strong detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beaten, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired among the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He lost more than twenty-five thousand men in these two battles: and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had committed himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means of their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and supplicant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans. Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at that time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed Scrofa, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, "ut Scrofa Porcos."

SECTION IV.—TROUBLES IN ACHAIA. METELLUS AND MUMMIUS SETTLE THOSE TROUBLES. THE LATTER TAKES CORINTH, AND DESTROYS IT.

METELLUS, after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arisen among the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused a war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Læconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.*

The commissioners having arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission. The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate, whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near Mount Cæta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans; a misfortune which they might avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome. they carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excuse it better than the Achæans themselves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to the cities which they wished to separate from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been defeated in several engagements, and from the fear they were in lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegea, a city on the banks of the Eurotas, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and

* A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pausan. in Achæic. p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. xliiii. c. lvi. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 181—189. Justin. l. xxiv. c. l. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But the faction of Critolaus took their measures in such a manner, that no person, except that magistrate, went to the congress; and he did not arrive there till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not assent to any measures. He said, that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus went from city to city, during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under the pretext of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegea, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion, which he himself had against them; in which he succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning an Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with great moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, inflamed them against the magistrates who did not enter into his views; spoke against the ambassadors themselves; animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures that he had undertaken to resist the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmonia, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent as Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans; they were discontented with a sentence which Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

The Romans had chosen Munimius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises, that the

Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain; upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scaphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than one thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He gave orders besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and yet yielded to their measures.*

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with one thousand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return to their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared, and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period to their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Sosicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival, and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a sortie, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inconceivable height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and counsels all such as were capable of command

ing the troops, and conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability, in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near Leucopetra, a place now unknown, and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made more resistance; but as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broken and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or views, no person had any thought of rallying the wreck of the army, in order to make any farther resistance, and to oblige the victor to grant them some favourable conditions, so that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the sword, and the women and children exposed to sale; and after the statues, paintings, and most valuable articles were moved for transporting them to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, though it had been in repute long before. It is pretended that the gold, silver, and brass, which was melted and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year in which Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. We might suppose from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth, as much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten Commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians Phœaciæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after

Greece, from that time, was reduced to a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece, and the Roman people sent a prætor every year, to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to show that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the pardon of the Roman people for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves and make it a military station against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, wished that Corinth had been spared.*

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Among the paintings, there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated artist† in Greece, representing Bacchus,‡ the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, had the mortification to see that painting used by the soldiers as a table on which they played at dice. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for six hundred thousand sesterces, somewhat more than sixteen thousand dollars. Pliny mentions another picture by the same painter, which Attalus also purchased for one hundred talents. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: "Attalicis conditionibus." These sums, however, seem repugnant to probability. The consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus, because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed the picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece, did not enrich him in the least. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse.§ The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, where the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a masterpiece of art: and it remained there till it was burned with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture, the merit of which he did not distinguish; not believing there was any difference between pictures or statues, nor that the name of the great masters of those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. He had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. No loss could have been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the masterpieces of those extraordinary artists, who contributed almost as much as the greatest captains, to render their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things with

* *Majores nostri—Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari.*—Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 45.

† This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, "All paintings are nothing in comparison with the Bacchus."

‡ Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. et l. xxxv. c. 4. et 10.

§ Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatio. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum.—Habere quæstui tempus non modo turpe est, sic sceleratum etiam et nefarium.—Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.*

Were it not to be wished, says a historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted? and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings among the magistrates, was the cause of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the art of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having formed the design of having the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the imprudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopœmen as the greatest captain whom Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions, as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed that the statues of Philopœmen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking advantage of the good disposition of Mummius, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal which Polybius had expressed upon this occasion, for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.†

He gave at the same time, a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour among his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus, who had been the principal in that affront, were put up, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking from him any thing on that account. He refused that offer, however advantageous it appeared, and would have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; besides which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow citizens. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all who followed his example were highly applauded.

This action gave the commissioners so high an opinion of Polybius, that, on their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them.‡ Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of individuals. In grati-

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portendas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddittas. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit conveni-
tior — Vell. Patere. l. i. n. 13.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

‡ Ibid. p. 190, &c.

tude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription, "That Greece would have been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened at first to the counsels of Polybius; but that, after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of eighty-two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.*

Metellus, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king Andronicus was led before his chariot. Among the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost twenty-five of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most celebrated artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECTION V.—REFLECTIONS ON THE CAUSES OF THE GRANDEUR, DECLENSION, AND RUIN OF GREECE.

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states that composed it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

THE FIRST AND SECOND AGES OF GREECE.

I SHALL not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundation of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur Bossuet† observes, who had naturally great wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who, settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, by means of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regarded nothing but their own interests and concerns, and had no sense of the calamities of the state but as they suffered themselves, or as the repose of their own family was involved in them: the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was

* Lucian, in *Macrob.* p. 142.

† *Universal History*

that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instructed thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that their citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, moderation in fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments, and services rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and endued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

THE THIRD AGE OF GREECE.

WE now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the compass of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray, till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled, in some measure, to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in open day such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the east, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and come pouring, with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed about to be entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resisted those formidable armies, but attacked, defeated, pursued, and destroyed the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which shone out at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice, and had become, by long habit, a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attention to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country, and above all, such a zeal for liberty, which

no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempted from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests at the expense of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of their neighbours, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from them. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they took, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to ask ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the citizens of Sparta and Athens; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that superior ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks, nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury; they, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about eighty years after the battle of Salamin; and the ancient simplicity of manners was adhered to long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what remains to show.

THE FOURTH AGE OF GREECE.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up among themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible in arms, as long as their union existed, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord among them. For that

reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes, gave Philip and Alexander an opportunity of subjecting them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude, covered their design with the pretence of avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks fell blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe, could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of her ancient glory, roused from her lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate herself in her ancient condition; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by her expiring liberty, and tended only to augment her slavery; because the protectors, whom she called in to her aid, soon made themselves her masters. So that all she did was to change her fetters and make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected her; but it was by degrees, and with much artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states, one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

She did not lose with her power that ardent passion for liberty, which was her peculiar character.* The Romans, when they reduced Greece into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla, who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance.† In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey, who fought for the republic.‡ Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius, near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Antony, when he became their friend, benefactor and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they, still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which they were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsaria, Alexandria Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by her example, opened schools which became very famous. Rome, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science

* Strab. l. xi.

† Plut. in Sylla.

‡ Diod. l. xlii. p. 191. et l. xlvii. p.

of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters whom Greece then produced. Pompey in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shows more clearly the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny the Younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of that province by Trajan. "Call to mind, my dear Maximus, that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth; where even agriculture was invented, according to the common opinion. Remember that you are sent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any such there were; who, by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties, and religion, have known how to preserve the liberty they received from nature. Revere the gods their founders; respect their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and even foibles and vanity of that people. Remember, it is from those sources that we have derived our law; that we did not impose our laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs, at our request, before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."*

While the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chrysostom, went to Athens to imbibe, as from their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verres, &c. who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, that they might be intrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even while he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole east, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly glorious to a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit, but solely on the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was held in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It seems, that after the subjugation of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am,

however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria; in which several kings not only succeeded one another in a short space, but sometimes reigned jointly, and at the same time, to the number of three or four; which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clew to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clearsighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be had to it only when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here with that view.

This third article contains the space of one hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometer, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world 3845, to 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains almost the space of one hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world 3840, to the year 3939.

SECTION I.—CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

<i>Kings of Egypt.</i>	<i>Kings of Syria.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>
Ptolemy Philometer reigned something more than 34 years. This article contains only 14 years of his reign. Differences between Philometer and his brother Evergetes, or Physcon.	Antiochus Eupator, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne. Bala, under the name of Alexander, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans. Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander Bala. He reigns almost five years. Ptolemy Philometer declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter. Demetrius Nicator.	3824 3840 3842 3851 3859
Ptolemy Evergetes, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometer, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometer's wife.	Antiochus Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom. Diodotes Tryphon, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne.	3860 3861
	Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years.	3863
	Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, marries him. Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians.	3864 3873
Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries his daughter, named also Cleopatra. He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra, his first wife. Physcon reascends the throne.	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria. Demetrius is killed by Zebina. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death. Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.	3874 3874 3877 3880 3881
	Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after.	3882
	Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.	3884
Death of Physcon. He had reigned 29 years. Ptolemy Lathyrus, or Soter, succeeds Physcon. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his elder sister, and marry Selena, his youngest sister. Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son		3887
	Antiochus the Cyzicenean, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, take arms against Grypus.	3890

*Kings of Egypt.**Kings of Syria.*

3894			Cleopatra whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenean. She is killed by the order of Tryphena, wife of Grypus.
3899			The Cyzicenean gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria.
3893		Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenean.	The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria.
3897	Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: he had reigned 10 years. She sets his younger brother, Alexander, upon the throne.		
3903	She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.		Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus.
3907		Death of Grypus He had reigned twenty-seven years. Seleucus, his son, succeeds him.	
3910			Antiochus, the Cyzicenean, is overthrown, and put to death.
3911		Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.	Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be declared king.
3912		Antiochus XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.	Eusebes marries Selena, widow of Grypus.
3913		Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.	
3914		Demetrius Eucharis, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.	
3915	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.		
3916	Alexander is expelled himself. He had reigned 19 years. He died soon after. Lathyrus is recalled.		Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge among the Parthians.
3918		Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.	He is re-established upon the throne by their means.
3921		The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect Tigranes king of Armenia. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.	
3923	Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, otherwise called Berenice, and kills her 19 days after. He reigned fifteen years.		Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. Selena his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and gives her two sons a good education.
3935		Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.	Syria being unprovided with troops, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.
3939	The Alexandrians expel Alexander Ptolemy Auletes, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.		Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him.

SECTION II.—ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR SUCCEEDS TO THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.
CELEBRATED VICTORIES OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

WE have long lost sight of the histories of the kings of Syria, and of Egypt, which are generally closely connected with each other. I am now about to resume the thread of them, which will not be again interrupted.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, aged only nineteen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip, his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom, during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.*

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding, at that court, the assistance he wanted for the repossession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

About the same time Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine who had been till then inimical to the Jews, suddenly became their friend moved, as the Scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed all his influence to obtain peace for them. By his conduct he gave his enemies an opportunity of injuring him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor, because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, on entering into his service. For, however advantageous the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length, by their clamour and cabals, he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and the part he had taken in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabeus at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The short time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclination he had expressed for the Jews, would not allow him to revoke, in form, his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels, desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interests in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.†

Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the year his father died, had remained a hostage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was

* A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29, et x. 13
Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

† 1 Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—39

informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right as the son of the eldest brother of Epiphanes. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republic, than the rights of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, in the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.*

Lysias, terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabeus, formed an army of eighty thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with eighty elephants, at the head of all these forces he marched into Judea, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants who worshipped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabeus, and all the people, prayed to the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there appeared a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded, and without arms.†

After this check, Lysias, weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the Scripture says, "believing the Jews invincible, when supported by the aid of the Almighty God," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.‡

This peace was not of long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews, to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to twenty-five thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops far inferior in numbers. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. He showed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of one hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse, thirty-two elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king, in person, with Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judea. Judas, relying on the omnipotence of God, the Creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last, marched and posted himself in front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, "the Victory of God," he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them attacked the king's quarters in the night. They

* A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p.

† 2 Maccab. ix. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 19—63. Joseph. Antiq.

‡ Ibid. xi. 13.

killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt that they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He therefore resolved to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant, through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the belly of the beast, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death beneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the east, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judea, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after, to his life.

The troubles occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometer. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him on the throne.*

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still a hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his

* A. M. 3942. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60, et 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Valer. J. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 113. Epit. Liv. l. 46.

journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design by all these circumstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to, and the better to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank, they assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to relinquish the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæstors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied, at the expense of the public, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon; Philometer had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned to them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been, with the generality of princes, no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alleged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator. That at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintius and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all that Menethyllus advanced.

The senate, seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded: for such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that while they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were still obliged to them. As the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose

interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with all his power. The Romans sent T. Torquatus and Cn. Mernla with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and thought it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya, with Physcon.*

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them to an accommodation by means of a treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometer did not explain himself openly at first. He protracted the affair as long as possible, upon different pretexts, with a design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time, informed of the ill conduct of Physcon, during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, that Philometer had taken pains secretly to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometer's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.†

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica, but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometer; and when he recovered from his wounds, again undertook a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, showing the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometer was the most humane of all princes, and could not be the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners, to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it, to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

Physcon by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometer, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometer's exceeding goodness appeared on this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected that, having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and, not counter

* Plut. in Vib. Grac. p. 824.

† A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. It. Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

with forgiving him his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and also added some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency.* There is no reader, who does not secretly pay homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments, which rise from nature and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECTION III.—OCTAVIUS, THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR IN SYRIA, IS KILLED. DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS.

WE have seen, that the principal objects of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found that the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Syphilis. They caused the ships to be burned, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person named Leptinus was so incensed at it, that, in his rage, he fell upon Octavius while he was bathing, and killed him.† It was suspected that Lysias the regent of the kingdom had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back, without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, the indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, the examination and punishment of which they reserved to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him among those of the great men who had lost their lives in defence of their country.‡

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the great number of his friends, who advised him to make his escape without saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification of a second denial. He then had recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius, the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in immediate execution with secrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of a hunting party, went to Ostia, and embarked, with a small train, in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre. It was three days before it was known at Rome that he had escaped. All that the senate could do, was to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, some days after, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support

* A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

† This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour.—Cic. Philip. ix. c. 4. Octavius, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

‡ A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv. et cxvii. Cic. Philip. vi. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

§ That ship carried to Tyre according to custom, the first fruits of the lauds and revenues of Carthage

him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to Demetrius, who ordered them to be put to death, and saw himself established by these means on the throne without opposition, and with astonishing facility.*

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks, under Antiochus Epiphanes, gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judea, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of the party of Demetrius, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judea at the head of an army; and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of the war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that a handful of men should withstand such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle; and of his army of thirty-five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found among the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole force of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. Accordingly he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined

* 1 Maccab. vii. viii. ix. et 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. xiii. Appian, in Syr. p. 17 Justin xxxiv. c. 3

not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him, in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas died.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchus and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judea. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there, and these were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred. But Judas, with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by numbers. His loss was deplored throughout all Judea and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan, his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed very great violence against the true Israelites, and Bacchus having returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Assyrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchus.

Demetrius, indeed, was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings, his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding, at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length, by their means, what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.*

To cultivate their amity, he sent the same Menochares the following year in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand pieces of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being a hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, on account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicia. Isocrates was a Greek by profession a Grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occasions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger, reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.†

It was about this time that Demetrius established Holofernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We shall see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius, who found himself without war or occupation, began to give up to pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspension of

* A. M. 3344. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Legat. cxx.

† A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holofernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown, if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Holofernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.*

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed. The malcontents were supported secretly by Ptolemy Philometer, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war which Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holofernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon; at the same time Timarchus, his brother another favourite, was governor of it. When Demetrius succeeded to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus was executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that was necessary to say or do.†

When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.‡

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judea, which rendered him at that time very superior to all his enemies.

Alexander, seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of "Friend of the King," sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outdid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But, after the injuries he had done to all those who had the truest interests of the Jews at heart, and the nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved rather to treat with Alex-

A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii. et clx. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50
† A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 153.

ander. Jonataan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from its being hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at pleasure.

The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians also continually deserted, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, so that they might be secure in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; so that, if any accident should happen, they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.*

It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andiscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.†

The two competitors for the crown of Syria, having assembled all their troops, came to a decisive battle. At first, the left wing of Demetrius broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too eager in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return, they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and, in the retreat, his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander, by this victory, found himself master of the empire of Syria.‡

As soon as Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.§

Onias, son of Onias III. having been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite and most intimate confidant. He made use of his influence at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: at the same time the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever.|| The great difficulty was to bring the Jews to consent to this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; the

* A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.
† 1 Maccab. x. 51—56.

† A. M. 3333 Ant. J. C. 151

‡ A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150

|| Joseph. contra Ap. ian. l. i.

one shall be called the City of Destruction;" M. Rollin says, the City of the Sun, or Heliopolis. "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall find them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."^{77*}

The event here foretold by Isaiah is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer sacrifices to God in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more then, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This, however, came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposure of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala, finding himself in the peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures which the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonias. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, who continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the royal blood he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.†

Demetrius, the eldest son of Demetrius, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of council and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio, to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could assemble; and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Coelosyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

The first thoughts of Apollonius were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander; but his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost more than eight thousand men.

Ptolemy Philometer, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a numerous army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect: Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometer. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and, in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.‡

The people of Antioch, who bore a violent hatred to Ammonius, believed it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a wo-

* Isa. xix. 18—21.

† A. M. 3356. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. lib. l. Justin. l. xxv. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. lxiii. i. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67. 89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

‡ A. M. 3358. Ant. J. C. 146.

man they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne, but that prince, assuring them that he was content with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius, the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beaten, and fled with five hundred horse to Zabdiel,* an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was not of long duration, for he died a few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of Nicator, that is to say, the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.†

SECTION IV.—PHYSCON ESPOUSES CLÉOPATRA, AND ASCENDS THE THRONE OF EGYPT.

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dosithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even on the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.‡

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon, given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took to himself was Evergetes, which signifies the Benefactor. The Alexandrians changed it into that of Cacoergetes, that is to say, on the contrary, "one who delights in doing harm;" a surname to which he was better entitled.

In Syria, affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince, without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.§

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops in Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which, he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars,

* He is called Emacluel in the Maccabees.

† A. M. 3359. Ant. J. C. 145.

‡ A. M. 3359. Ant. J. C. 145. Joseph. contra App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1

§ Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

and punished with death all that could be found. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan, however, seeing every thing quiet in Judea, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem.

He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great number of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations which had been formed against him to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch, and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kinds of excess, violence, and cruelty, the patience of the people was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.*

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, perceiving this disposition of the people, found the occasion favourable for attempting a hardy enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by means of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, that he might be restored to his rights. His view was, to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not assent to it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length, by force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour, but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison, which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties, from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should

* Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9 Appian in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and invested the palace, with a design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed the multitude with fire and sword, burned a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed nearly one hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judea and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country; laden with honour and booty.*

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppression, put many more persons to death for the late sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such a hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising, and making him experience the most dreadful effect of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he was under to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan, of making war upon him if he failed.

While things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broken by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the king of Syria, and gave him the surname of Theos, which signifies the God.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him, and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Coelosyria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon, seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well, even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judea with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he had come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest toward Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put in possession of it. He

had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprise the two thousand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais; and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived safe at Jerusalem.*

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews, however, did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves to work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king one hundred talents; that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal was no more than a feint, yet, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judea, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing that he had no one to fear after him, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be published, that he died of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.†

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a gold statue of Victory, of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.‡

Demetrius in the mean time, amused himself with diversions at Laodicea, and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kinds of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.§

* 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epist. Liv. l. lv.

† A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. xxxi.

‡ 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40.

§ A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42 et xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

Demetrius at length recovered a little from his lethargy, upon the arrival of deputies from the east, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost over-run the whole east, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, strongly solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the east, with that increase of power, he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.*

As soon as he appeared in the east, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut to pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves, as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget in some measure that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king.† This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces which still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. He was, however, always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws

* Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5 et 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 2—12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132

† Non multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium; plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiusque patris quam liberis consulendum.—Justin.

and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving by the wise customs of the nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which continued many ages, without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time there happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and all the people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they owed most essential obligations, and gave him the government, with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: they declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death, both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character, that laid him under so much constraint, and gave himself up entire^y to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her in a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than to support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, for uniting their forces, and proposed on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any farther, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus, therefore, was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.*

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, on whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he should ascend the throne.†

* A. M. 3294 Ant. J. C. 140.

† 1 Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. et 13.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay at Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse.*

Tryphon could not make head against him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there, by sea and land, with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea toward Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, the place of his birth, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called Sidetes, or the hunter, from the word *zidah*, which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judea, by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, to obtain their acknowledgment of his title, and to renew their ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Demetrius king of Syria,† Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence, that they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interests of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judea, under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt. History relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagances of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he would inevitably have been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain-general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing and redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.‡

But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that first minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of

* A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

† This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner among the Parthians, because the Romans had not acknowledged either Antiochus, Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

‡ A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 139. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. iii. p. 184. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. c. 2.

this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number, but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometer his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whoever would come and settle there, of whatever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragements and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses that had been abandoned were given them, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was repopled.*

As among those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences; it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place to which the illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Museum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, while they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied or professed some of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence, was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive wherever they were dispersed, that is to say, throughout what we call the whole east, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the west, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

About the time that strangers came in crowds to repeople Alexandria, P Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece, and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged this commission with so much equity, justice, and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order among them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had

passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit among them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.*

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they were so plain in their manners, that on entering, Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, who was Panætius the philosopher, and five domestics. Not his domestics, says a historian, but his victories were considered: he was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities.† Though, during the whole time of their residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind, as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themselves, the infinite number of cities, and the great multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was in no respect qualified for that dignity. Nothing could be more despicable than the idea he gave them of himself, in all the audiences which they held with him. His cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, have already been mentioned, and I shall be obliged to give further proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: nothing was ever worse put together. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of Physcon. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panætius, told him in his ear, smiling, “the Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.”‡

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see, in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of desolation and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found among the pagans? Justin accordingly says of him, that while he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. “Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.”

Attalus, king of Pergamus, died at about the time of which we are now speaking. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometer, succeeded

* Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273. et l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

† Cum per socios et exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, æstimabatur.—Val. Max.

‡ Quam cruentes civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et statura brevis, et sagina ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam fœditatem nimia subtilitas perlicidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant.—Justin. l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus says, περὶ ἡμῶν ποταμὸς πεζὸς ἢ μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα. Which the interpreter translates, *Pedibus illis subquæta ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus* instead of, *nisi propter Scipionem*.

him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed to him the throne, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.*

The death of this prince was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometer governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He had scarcely ascended the throne, when he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all those who had served his father and uncle with the greatest fidelity, to have their throats cut, under the pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken very naturally. He put others to death under the most frivolous suspicions, and with them, their wives, children, and families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel nations, to make them the instruments of his excessive barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most worthy persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and eat no longer in public. He put on old clothes, suffered his beard to grow without taking care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and applied himself to digging the ground, and sowing all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He passed the rest of his reign in cruel extravagances of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, lasted only five years.

He undertook to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass, to be erected to his mother. While he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.†

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus, carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, "*Let the Roman people inherit all my fortunes.*"‡ As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, embraced this opportunity, and ascending the tribune of harangues, proposed the following law, viz: that all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed among the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. That as to the cities and lands which were under the government of that prince, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that the disposal of them should be left to the people; which highly offended the senate. That tribune was killed shortly after.

Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the royal blood, was active to take possession of the dominions of Attalus. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings.

* A. M. 3366. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370. † A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 133.

‡ Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. et xxxvii. c. 1. Vel. Patere. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. v. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. i. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

Some cities out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.*

As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.†

Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he then commanded in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the hands of the victor, by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.‡

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to Rome in the fleet, which he loaded with the treasures of Attalus. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found that Aristonicus had set out; and some time after, Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of a disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had lasted nearly four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.§

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, both in this last war, and in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. However just their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, as a reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the great Mithridates, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycæonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice, not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have shared the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Mægara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been exhibited to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of the will of Attalus.||

Mithridates, in the letter which he afterwards wrote to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accused the Romans of having forged a false will of Attalus,¶ in order

* A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132. † A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. ‡ A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130

§ A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. || A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.

¶ *Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, frustum more per triumphum duxere.*—Apud Sallust. *Fragn.*

to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right : but it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprising that Horace, in one of his odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate that they had attained the succession by fraud :

Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.
Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

Hor. Od. xviii. l. ii.

There remains, however, no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

SECTION V.—SIDETES TAKES JERUSALEM, AND THEN MAKES WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS. PHYSCON'S CRUELTY AND DEATH.

SIMON, with two of his sons, having been slain by treason, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews, in his father's stead.* Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take advantage of the death of Simon, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judea, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person, pressed him to take advantage of the present opportunity for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men ; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people ; that they did not adore the same gods ; that they had laws, customs, and a religion, entirely different from that of all other nations ; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and that all people should unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was owing solely to the generosity and clemency of Antiochus that the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms ; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished ; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judea : the peace was concluded on these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison in it ; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, on account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, among whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal, in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the quæstor,† to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service.‡ By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.*

Antiochus Sidetes thought proper to prevent this design, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians' late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the east, which his ancestors had always possessed, from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement with him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army consisted of more than eighty thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as numerous as the soldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but if two thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those who administered to it. Gold and silver glittered on all sides, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were of silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.†

Antiochus had great success at first. He vanquished Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces in the east, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home, laden with glory, at the end of the campaign.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the east. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests, whom nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day, in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest to him, but was overpowered by numbers, and fell by the hand of the enemy. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarcely one escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince esteemed for so many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself while hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having turned the conversation upon the person and con-

* A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9 et 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 230. et l. x. p. 439. et l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Ant. q. l. xiii. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

† *Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro sigerent procul carentque materiam, campuli ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuisse, quasi ad epulas, non ad bella.* Justin.

duct of the king, they said he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of the kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, "Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday."*

Phraates having been thrice beaten by Antiochus, at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would induce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates, before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, while all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for among the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors; and having found one of his daughters among the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead, Hyrcanus took advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places of Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.†

Phraates, elate with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge the invasion of his dominions by Antiochus. But, while he was making preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.‡

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice; and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, while the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished in the pursuit, together with almost the whole of his army. The Scythians and the Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, the uncle of Phraates, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions in the Scythian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother, in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometer, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.*

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and supply the place of those whom his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him injury, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had roused the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and extraordinary a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.†

Ptolemy Physcon, having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus; he even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon. It was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most excruciating torments, but he acted in a quite contrary manner. He pardoned him, and set him at liberty: for,

* A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oros. v. c. 10. Epist. l. ix. lx. Diod. 5th Excerpt. Vales. p. 375—376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.
† A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and strove to acquire honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometer, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, and marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the lifetime of her father Philometer. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained among them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria; she kept her court at Ptolemais, when her mother came to her.

Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government. For, after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was no one in a condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He pretended to be the son of Alexander Bala, and that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They disregarded who was to be their king, provided they got rid of Demetrius.*

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Cœlosyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna, among the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest; and, to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent, the preceding year, an embassy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities, and made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places, which he had ceded to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem; upon what the ambassadors represented

to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses which the Jews had sustained from them in contravention of the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.*

At the time we speak of, incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thousand souls.†

We have said, that Cleopatra had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria, at the death of Demetrius Nicator, her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended with her son's intention of establishing himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman and a mother, could be capable of committing so horrid and excessive a crime; but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. However gentle it may appear, it does not hesitate to arm itself with poniards, and have recourse to poison; because urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.‡

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicia, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to reconcile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to herself. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to being governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant while filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince who would lay claim to it. She, therefore, caused her other son, Antiochus, to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no

Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

† A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Liv. Epist. l. ix. Oros. l. v. c. 11

‡ A. M. 3980. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epist. l. ix. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian in Syr. p. 132.

more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he quietly suffered her to govern for some time. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of Grypus,* taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him Philometer; but that prince in his medals took the title of Epiphanes.†

Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all difference with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expenses of the war. On its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.‡

After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and her grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself again absolute mistress of the government of Syria, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very warm from some exercise. But that prince, having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who, by her unheard-of crimes, had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three kings of Syria, and the mother of four.§ She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands; and of her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he had made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.||

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometer, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.¶

SECTION VI.—PTOLEMY LATHYRUS SUCCEEDS PHYSCON. CONTINUATION OF THE WARS IN SYRIA AND EGYPT.

PHYSCON at his death left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated

* Γρυπς, in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

† A. M. 3381. Ant. J. C. 123.

‡ A. M. 3382. Ant. J. C. 122.

§ The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyziceniian, by Antiochus Sidetes.

¶ A. M. 3384. Ant. J. C. 120

¶ Porphy; in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in P. n. ix.

her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and either of his two sons whom she should think proper to choose. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most subservient to her, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his youngest sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.*

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometer; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of Lathyrus,† a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give him in his own time.

Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judea, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born while Demetrius was prisoner among the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard for his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situated upon the Propontis, in Asia Minor, where he was educated under the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had entrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenean. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, wished to have him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenean was compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.‡

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenean. She brought him an army for her dowry, to assist him against his competitor.§ Their forces by that means, being very nearly equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenean having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.||

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra, his prisoner, into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not show a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alleged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor prejudicial to the Cyzicenean; that in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially to near relations; that Cleopatra was her sister, and his near relation;¶ that therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. Tryphena, far

* A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem, et in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. et l. vi. c. 30. Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Josep. h. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

† *Δλφύρος* signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin "cicer," from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name would have been inconsistent.

‡ A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114.

§ We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words: "Exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut Iustalem, ad maritum deductum:" which shows that Cleopatra, having succeeded in corrupting part of the army of Grypus, carried it to her husband. Several editions read "Cyprum" instead of "Grypi," which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

¶ A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 11.

|| Her father Phylæon was the uncle of Cleopatra, the mother of Grypus.

from yielding to his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy, and imagining that it was not from the motive of compassion, but love, that her husband took the part of the unfortunate princess in such a manner, she therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.*

But, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenean returned at the head of a new army, to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments which her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.†

Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenean had Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch, with great luxury, and many other excesses.‡

While the two brothers were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozing, after the peace, in luxurious ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to lay siege to that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenean, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.§

The two brothers, after this victory, returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenean, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who furnished six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, these two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.||

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenean joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the besieging army, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to compel the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves

* Sed quanto Grypus abnuvit, tanto furor muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse.—Justin.

† A. M. 3893 Ant. J. C. 111.

‡ A. M. 3894 Ant. J. C. 110

Joseph. Antia. l. xiii 17—19

§ A. M. 3895 Ant. J. C. 109.

at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents, he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and, for a sum of money, put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour and reputation; and all for a very inconsiderable sum.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city which he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos,* in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judea, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his time. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

But toward the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him much difficulty. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway among the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides, having been educated among them, and having always professed to be of their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, that it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions toward men, and to do all things in regard to God that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: that he conjured them, therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, that he might amend and correct his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it should be attended with prudence and discernment.*

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high-priesthood, and content yourself with civil government." Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the testimony of ancient persons, worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that, as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar would have had reason; for the law was express in that point: but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation on that account.†

* Σεβαστος, in Greek, signifies Augustus.

† A. M. 3899 Ant. J. C. 105.

‡ Liv. xxiv. 15

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judea, who were directly opposite to each other in opinions and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first prided themselves on an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, which they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and in consequence, another life after this. They affected a show of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that specious appearance, they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice, insupportable pride, an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy that rose almost to fury against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and, what was their still more distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and of religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus to his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principle of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity, in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees, their enemies.

Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm: he died the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.*

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition.† She carried her resentment so far upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons, who both died before him, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her plan for doing this was, to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria.

* A. M. 3397. Ant. J. C. 197.

[Justin l. xxxviii c. 4

She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and inflamed the people so much by this fiction, which convinced them that he designed to kill her, that they immediately rose against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander, her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander, king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was on the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy; and resolved to do him all the injury he could.*

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to lay siege to Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost thirty thousand men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occasion. The evening of the day on which he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed, that his troops eat human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the low country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander would have been undone; for, after so considerable a loss, it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judea and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before.† She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia. She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. For their security, in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither, at the same time, her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates some time after, and took

* A. M. 3329. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 20, 21.

† A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 10.

refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him under his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.*

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœlosyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais in person. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia.† He was mistaken. The troops which Cleopatra had left there, held out till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, however, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him, to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judea, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society; that such conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and influence, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she yielded to his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what infinite value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, while his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.‡

Being informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenean, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him in a condition to attack his brother, the Cyzicenean, with vigour. The affair succeeded as she intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenean had so much employment on his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.§

Ptolemy Alexander, his youngest brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing, besides, that the greatest crimes

* Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. Et de Bel. Civ. p. 414.

† A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101

‡ A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102.

§ Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4

cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned. He did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne, and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without urgent solicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of the disgrace of Lathyrus, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons. Seleucus the eldest succeeded him. The four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucharès, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.*

Ptolemy Apion, son of Physcon king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.†

Antiochus the Cyzicenean seized Antioch, after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess the children of Grypus of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.‡

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia, who had been kept a hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.§

The Cyzicenean, who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria, but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, who made his escape from Antioch when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus, an island and city of Phœnicia, where he caused himself to be crowned king.|| From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of heavy subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. He, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.¶

Antiochus and Philip, the twin sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned, in endeavouring to

* A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

† A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Liv. Epist. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin l. xxxix. c. 5.

‡ A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Porphy. in Græc. Scæ

§ A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

|| A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. xlii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphy. in Græc. Scæ.

¶ A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 95.

him his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat, with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.*

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena, the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon the decease of her husband, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her, therefore, for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucharès, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other, to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so completely defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge among the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time; this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Coelosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs were not more quiet, nor crime and perfidy less frequent in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, and by a crime equal to her own.†

I do not doubt that the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who all, in cool blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employed the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of Heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful, than against these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, and incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

* A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

† A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

The Syrians, weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and other calamities, in which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But, the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.*

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philp, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action with Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth.† The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in Upper Egypt. The rebels being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken, after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.‡

Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years: eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt, after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice: but by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.§

Sylla, at that time perpetual dictator at Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest male heir of the deceased. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princesses.||

Some time after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty

* A. M. 3321. Ant. J. C. 83. Justin. l. 3.

† Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. ix. c. 1.

§ A. M. 3323. Ant. J. C.

c. 1 et 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 2.

33. Strab. l. xvii. p. 196.

|| Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphy. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

years had since elapsed, during which time sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it to a Roman province.*

SECTION VII — POMPEY DISPOSSESSES ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS OF THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA. TROUBLES IN JUDEA AND EGYPT.

SOME troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selena, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years at Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.†

The eldest, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily.‡ He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of; to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose; and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the sight, and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus had arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had very many rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus some considerable presents, consisting of provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned; the tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.§

He invited Verres to supper in his turn; exposed all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and many cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made of one precious stone. Verres took each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praised and admired them; the king rejoiced that the prætor of the Roman people was so well pleased with this entertainment.||

* A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 213. De Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epist. lxx. et xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

† Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse, qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id sine controversia obtinebant, ut a patre et a majoribus acceptant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se et Selenam matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrum profecti sunt. A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. Orat. vi. in Ver. n. 61—67.

‡ Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

§ Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat multa secum preclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga; hæc ad usum domesticum, vine, olei, quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.—Omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiose ornatum, et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

|| Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorum. Exponit suas copias omnes; multum argentum, non pauca etiam pecula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regibus, et maxime in Syria, geminis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi.—Iste unusquisque vos in manus sumit, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium.

From thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than of plundering Antiochus, and sending him away robbed of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider it more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.*

But to crown all, the kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch scone with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burned during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any one to have a sight of it; in order that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, among many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.†

Verres was informed of all this by some secret means; for the prince had taken care to have the scone concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before it should be exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it to him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let no one else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his mind were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the scone secretly to Verres, well covered from sight, which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out,

"this is a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria, worthy of the Capitol." For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish that it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the scone with him. They accordingly returned without it.‡

* Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare est nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum expellatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælorum velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nosset, sine ulla suspitione, libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam regatum; velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

† Nunc, reliquum, iudices, attendite.—Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent ut in Capitolio ponerent: quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offerenderat, neque ponere, neque vulgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, et magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id sæcum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

‡ Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat; non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iste petit a rege, et cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo posteaquam attulerunt involutisque rejectis constituerant, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et plurimis gemmis, esse debebat; ea varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare; nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubeat illos discedere, et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum ianæ ad Antiochum revertuntur.

The king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion: but several days elapsed, and the scone was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned. At length he applied in person to him, and requested him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very scone, which Verres knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, he earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the several nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action; the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms: but when he saw that his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night; and alleged for his reason, that he had received advice from good authority, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.*

The king upon that withdrew to the public place, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a scone of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that august temple, of his alliance and amity with the Roman people: that he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but to see that scone taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront that made him inconsolable. That though by his own and the intention of his brother, that scone was already consecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.†

Antiochus Asiaticus, having returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.‡

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious should the Roman name be to them, when they heard, that in a Roman province, a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty, by their weak and abject connivance. "We have seen for several years," says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, "and have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine, all Asia, Achaia, Greece,

* Rex primum nihil metueret, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures; non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jobet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementer petere coepit. Cum ille se religionem Jovis Capitolini et hominum exstimationem impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac moris: iste homini minari acerrime coepit. Ubi videt cum nihilo magis minis quam præcibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. Atque se conperisse, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

† Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare coepit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitiaeque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quæ sua penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente et cogitatione suæ fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicere consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis religionis adhibere.

‡ A. M. 9399. Ant. J. C. 65.

Sicily, are now enclosed in some of the country-houses of those rich and unjust men of rapine, while a general want of money is experienced in all other places. And we have just reason to condemn ourselves, for conniving in all these crying and terrible disorders, as those who commit, take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the public.*

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests; to which, however, we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judea, had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, continually opposed to him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be governed by them. His death did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.†

Nothing but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed Auletes, that is to say, "the player upon the flute," because he valued himself so much upon playing well on that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him. Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture:‡ but none offered, and he died there some time after.

Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions which Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. Some were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed to the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that

* Patimur multos jam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur.—Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam totam, denique Asiam, Achaiam, Greciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis, inclusas esse videatis.—Cic. in ver. ult. de suppl. n. 125, 126.

† A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. et A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. c. 23, 24. et de Bell. Judaic. l. 4.

‡ A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251

this enterprise might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, while they were engaged with Mithridates. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.*

This is the fourth example of dominions left to the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this, however, there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account. I mean seduction: when, to obtain the suffrages of a people, mean arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, who, far from making any scruple of it, imagined it to be their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to do so. It does not appear that they were more solicitous, either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives, then, induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, dreadful examples of which were presented to them in Egypt and Syria. They saw with their own eyes, the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince in the situation of which we speak, had but one of three things to choose; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grantees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting a republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury; and the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform

* Cic. Orat. ii. in Rullum, n. 41—43

equality, that dependence upon mute laws, which have not weight enough to enforce obedience to them. They are made for a monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by all nations, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans, with a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift which the king had made them at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own inclination, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of opposing the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence, long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people; and for that reason, it was highly consistent with prudence to lighten the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them by force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated, especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarcely could its weight be perceived by those who sustained it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to ensure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of a war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the time of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But these were only transient evils, to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended; and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest

and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: but there were always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius, who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small a sum.*

His thoughts were bent on being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust a design in execution, he had sufficient influence and address to have the justest of the Romans elected, I mean Cato, whom he removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says a historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vice sufficiently authorized seizing all his fortunes.†

Cato, on his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him, and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby showed, that he loved them better than he did himself, by the title of king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money.‡ He returned to the shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs an equal amount had scarcely ever been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch says it was nearly seven thousand talents. Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables

* A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 53. Strab. l. iv. p. 634.

† P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is (Cato)—mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omni us morum vitiis eare contumeliam meritum.—Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 45.

‡ Procul dubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessus est; titulo rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium

to be sold publicly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the opinions of the sect he followed.*

The Roman people here take off the mask, and show themselves, not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, actuated by a noble contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. "The Roman people," says Cicero, "instead of making it their honour, and almost their duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings, their enemies, whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or at least a constant friend to the republic, who had never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor any of our generals had ever the least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden without any formality, and all his effects sold at auction almost before his eyes, by order of the same Roman people. This," continues Cicero, "shows other kings, upon what they are to rely for their security; from this fatal example they learn, that among us, there needs only the secret intrigue of some seditious tribune, for depriving them of their thrones, and of plundering them at the same time of all their fortunes."†

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the most just and upright man of those times, should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct, openly shows, however, in the same discourse which I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits particular attention.

* Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

† Ptolemæus, rex, si nondum socius ac non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis, præconi publico subiceretur, et imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur.—Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perditio exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunæ spoliis (posse) ac regno omni cedere.—Cic. Orat. pro Sex. n. 57.

BOOK TWENTIETH



THE HISTORY OF **ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,** CONTINUED.

PLAN,

THE twentieth book is divided into three Articles, which are all abridgments; the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM ARISTOBULUS TO HEROD THE IDUMEAN.

As the history of the Jews is often connected with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of it what was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have used here, may be also consulted for the same purpose.

SECTION I.—REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS I. WHICH LASTED TWO YEARS.

HYRCANUS, high-priest and prince of the Jews, had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the name of the fourth is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.*

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judea from the Babylonish captivity had done, besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, insecure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew that the Romans were strongly inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken them in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king among its neighbours.

The mother of Aristobulus, in virtue of the will of Hyrcanus, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. As he was very partial to Antigonus, the eldest of his brothers, he at first gave him a share in the government; but

* A M 3298. Ant J. C. 106 Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id de Bel. Jud. 1. 3.

shortly after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in prison during his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed, he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country, and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both in religious and political affairs. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmonæans. It shows, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Cœlosyria, on the northeast frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.*

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to put an end to the war he had begun. The queen and her party, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took advantage of this illness, to alienate the king from him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus returned to Jerusalem soon after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. They were then celebrating the feast of the tabernacles. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving that, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case, he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her partizans, and told him the order quite differently, that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards, who saw him come in arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the greatest grief and despair.

SECTION II.—REIGN OF ALEXANDER JANNEUS, WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY SEVEN YEARS.

SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, in which they had been confined by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown.† As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life.‡ No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

While all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander, the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus, the eldest, in Cyprus.

* A. M. 3398. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. iii. 19. Id. de Bel. Jud. 1. 3.

† A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de Bel. Jud. 1. 3. ‡ Id. Antiq. xiv. 1.

Alexander Januæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had **taken possession** of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beaten by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it; for, from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost all the people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthe'don, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. These two posts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, were kept in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to gaining the fatal battle of Jordan; and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.*

As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation.† His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy, and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour, and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed almost an equal number of his people. But, at length, he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to a heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.‡

Some time after, the people affronted him in the most heinous manner.§ At the feast of the tabernacles, while he was in the temple offering a solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and among the rest, giving him that of slave; a reproach which sufficiently argued that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had presumed to advance, that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected toward him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, who attended him every where.

When Alexander saw the storm which had arisen against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms

* A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100. † A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98. ‡ A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.
§ A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost great part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty.* At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at his defeat, revolted against him. They vainly flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that there would be no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides, had more than a common capacity, soon found means to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were defeated upon many occasions.†

Alexander, having taken a city where many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day; when they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.‡

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at the end of three years, after having reigned twenty-seven.§

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra, his wife, should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECTION III.—REIGN OF ALEXANDRA, THE WIFE OF ALEXANDER JANNEUS, WHICH CONTINUED NINE YEARS.

ACCORDING to the advice of her husband, Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so, she only conformed to the last will of her husband.||

By this step she gained so much upon them, that, forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour, and credit much augmented. By this means, they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest; he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional

* A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94.

† A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

‡ A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 96.

§ A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

|| A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24 et De Bell. Jud. 1 c.

constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had circumscribed her own power, by putting herself into that of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head, may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees always continued their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage among such as still survived.*

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him, should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of inquiries, or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, to seek an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition in which she saw them, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer; and that therefore they would never assent to it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no recourse in case of necessity. She resolved, therefore, upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not to attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion, in case of any rupture.

Some years after, the queen fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received

in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standard of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect; besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design, for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.*

When the Pharisees saw that the party of Aristobulus augmented considerably, they went, with Hyrcanus at their head, to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle with such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. She, however, appointed Hyrcanus her heir, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of Baris,† as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partizans took refuge in the temple. Some time after, they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECTION IV.—REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS II. WHICH CONTINUED SIX YEARS.

It was agreed by the accommodation, that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.‡

The troubles of the state, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth, were not so soon appeased. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the period Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant over Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown. But when he saw all his measures broken by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.§

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, had arrived in Syria. He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired

* A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

† Baris was a castle situated upon a high rock, without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock. ‡ A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2. et de Bell. Jud. 1—5.

§ A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8 et de Bell. Jud. 1—5.

thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings; that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.*

Hyrchanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birthright, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And, to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly to support, by their testimony, what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, that Hyrchanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not, however, pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judea, and that he would then regulate their affairs, and make the necessary disposition of all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judea, armed his subjects, and prepared for a vigorous defence. By this conduct he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of the proceedings of Aristobulus in Judea. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to order him to come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last yielded to the opinion of those about him, who, apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes, by that complacency, to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged

* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de Bel. Jud. 1—5

him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him closely. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of the death of Mithridates, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march toward Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that officer arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

The party of Aristobulus wished to defend the place, especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley, which surrounded it, to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months, and would have done so much longer, and perhaps compelled the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take advantage of this inaction. They did not attack the Jews on those days, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried by storm, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

History observes, that during the tumult, cries, and disorder of this slaughter, the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising firmness, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief at seeing their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty; happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it! Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, which consisted principally in sums that had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner: for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors.* Pompey, in this noble disinterestedness, had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It has been observed, that till then, Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECTION V.—REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS.

POMPEY, having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judea, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judea, where he afterwards excited new troubles.†

Hyrcanus, finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans.‡ Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.§ He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but these innovations were of short duration.

Crassus, in his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents.||

Cæsar, after his expedition into Egypt, having arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome, with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judea, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judea, under Hyrcanus. By this decree the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judea re-established on its ancient footing.¶

Antipater caused the government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasael his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.**

* Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapientur, quod in tam suspiciosa, ac maledica civitate, locum sermoni obtreptatorum non relinquit. Non enim credo religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento, prestantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—is-torum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat. Cic. pro Flacco. n. 67—69.

† A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

‡ A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

§ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id de Bel. Jud. 1, 6.

|| A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64.

¶ A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. xv. de Bell. Jud. 1. 8.

** Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de Bell. Jud. 1. 8.

Cæsar, at the request of Hyrcanus, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.*

During the civil wars, Judea, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judea, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasael, Herod's brother, upon proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it, to seize him also.†

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains into his hands. Phasael, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him : but, to render him incapable of the high-priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off : for, according to the Levitical law, it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members.‡ After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judea. He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.§

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For, instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for Aristobulus,|| whose sister Marianne he had lately married, with the view of only governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus, Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judea by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the Capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judea. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

SECTION VI.—REIGN OF ANTIGONUS, WHICH CONTINUED ONLY TWO YEARS.

It was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judea, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains

* A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17.

† A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xix. 24, 26. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 11.

‡ Lev. xxi. 16—24.

§ Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

|| Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.*

Herod, who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod in full possession of the kingdom of Judea.†

While the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other; but the unforeseen troubles into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus II. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue: and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affections, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, prosecuted the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than they, carried the place after a siege of something more than six months.

The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had met with, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, and plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent them.‡

Antigonus, seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest until he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money.§ He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of one hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabeus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judea.

This extraordinary, and till then unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, who had an equal interest in it, but

* A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

* A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13.

† A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

§ Joseph. An'tiq. ibid. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. 49. p. 405

without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Among the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."* The sceptre or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestible, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall exist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes; the second, that it shall exist, and form a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah evidently appears.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with a little attention. When Herod, the Idumæan, and, in consequence a stranger, was placed on the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy: it no longer existed as a distinct body, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest, therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and confounded with them? In the times of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, while there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrived there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the east. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred and seventy-four years; of which two hundred and fifty-four were before Jesus Christ, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself

* Gen. xlii. 12.

to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.*

Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus, who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tridates, otherwise called Arsaces II. brother of the first.†

Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the east, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him.‡ He also entered Parthia, and obliged the king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in conquering the revolted provinces.§ Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.||

Priapatius, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father, and, after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to Phraates I. his eldest son.

Phraates left it to Mithridates, whom he preferred before his own issue, on account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.¶

Phraates II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed his design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.**

Artabanus his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.††

His successor was Mithridates II. of whom Justin says, that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.‡‡

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as a hostage. The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.§§

Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria for two years after.||||

It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.¶¶

Demetrius Eucerus, who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.*†

Mithridates II. died, after having reigned forty years, universally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensibly felt. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.*‡

* A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. † A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. ‡ A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

§ The Abbe Longueue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatius. Justin says nothing of them.

¶ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. ¶ A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. ** A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131

†† A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. ‡‡ Justin. p. 115. §§ A. M. 3902. Justin. l. xviii. c. 8.

|||| A. M. 3912.

¶¶ A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

*† A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

*‡ A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500 &c

During these troubles, the Parthians elected Mnaskires, and after him Sinatrocces, kings, of whom little more is known than their names.

Phraates, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed, The God. He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter which Sallust has preserved.*

Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.†

The latter joined Tigranes the younger against his father, and separated from Pompey.

After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates was killed by his own children Mithridates, his eldest son, succeeded him.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, died about the same time. Artavasdes, his son, succeeded him.‡

Mithridates, expelled from his kingdom, either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applied to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but without effect.§ He took up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrendered to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, caused him to be put to death; by which means Orodes became peaceable possessor of the throne.||

But he found enough to employ him abroad, that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, with Pompey, for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced on that account, because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarcely knew, he could not moderate his transports. Among his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into an extravagance unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia; he flattered himself with doing such things as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already overrun, in thought, Bactria and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the east. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion.¶ Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had, besides, something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gayety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost many ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at

* A. M. 9935. Ant. J. C. 69. † A. M. 3738. Ant. J. C. 56. ‡ A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56
 § Justin. l. xliii. c. 4. || A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.
 ¶ A. M. 5950. Ant. J. C. 51. Plut. in Crass. p. 552—554.

that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him in these words: "King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day."* "And you, lord Crassus," replied Dejotarus, "are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians." For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old; and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed, that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way, to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, there was a beam of gold, enclosed and concealed in another of wood, made hollow for that purpose: this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of his march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and, notwithstanding, made the rest of the treasures his plunder. He then continued his march.†

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace, and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprise to give a just pretext for a war: so that the Parthians had not expected such an invasion; and, not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and overran, without opposition, the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He also took several cities without resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it would have been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But, instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and one thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him one thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest, undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria, for he should have gone on without delay, and have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

While he was reassembling all his troops from their winter quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in a few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

† Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv 12

other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity on the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a boast. He told them, "they should have his answer in the city of Seleucia." Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing, and showing him the palm of his hand: "Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than see Seleucia." The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit, Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to oppose him.* Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, on his arrival there, retook several places which Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time, some Roman soldiers, who, with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour, in the bloody attack of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend themselves.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers, who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had so easily overthrown, and flattered themselves that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to the advice of none but those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabazus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six hundred horse, which were part of his guard; adding, that besides these he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by Armenia. The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them; that if they took this route, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, in all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he

* A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 52. Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; and in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable; but Crassus, blinded by Providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabazus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Crassus, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that the Romans under Crassus "had no correct or judicious view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute what might be requisite; so that they appear as if condemned and pursued by some divinity, who would not allow them to make use of their bodies nor minds." That divinity was unknown to Dion. It was he whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, nearly four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to reanimate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to reassure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had observed the tracks of a great number of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes; and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemy, their force, and what designs they had in view; or, if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates toward Seleucia; because, by always keeping upon the banks of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him; and that, with the fleet, which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was quæstor, and the same who afterwards conspired against Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was on the point of adopting it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was con-

Crassus, he informed him that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread universal terror among their troops; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and conduct them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by this flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, fell into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to no one. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way, at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult from the deep sands, in which the army found itself engaged in the midst of an extensive barren country, of a frightful dryness, where the eye could neither discover any boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive, neither near them nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as a hill, or a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabazus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a powerful army: that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to unite their forces against the common enemy; that if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against those that gave them; and without deigning to write an answer to Artabazus, he only told his couriers, "I have no time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia: I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabazus for his treachery."

Crassus was so confident of this Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy deserts we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians was advancing with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in order of battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and, drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve cohorts in front.* Every cohort had a company of horse near it, that, each part being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his young son Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry, consisting of five or six hundred men, and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover from the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment, should eat under arms in their ranks; and, scarcely allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops; and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise: for the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments covered with leather, and having bells of brass around them, which they struck violently against each other: the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses, none disorder the soul sooner than the hearing; which acts upon and affects it immediately, and is the most sudden in causing it in a manner to change its nature.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sunbeams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well-made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise; for he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled, and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the barbarians threatened to charge the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of that hollow square, so well closed, in which the troops stood firm, and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broken. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were compelled by a shower of arrows to retire, and cover themselves by their heavy-armed foot.

The disorder and dismay commenced, on experiencing the velocity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they struck. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, though they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds; because, drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally; and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no injury, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world, they were the most expert in that exercise, after the Scythians; an operation in reality very wisely conceived; for in flying they saved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived, that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whence those who had exhausted their quivers replenished them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts, armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good a front, or with a design to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, "They dont stand us," pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, prided themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them closely. Carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them, they firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till, being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered their error; for those who seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon ordered his troops to halt, in expectation that the enemy, on seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, but come to close fight. The barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light horse, that, wheeling about and surrounding them on all sides without coming to close action, poured in a constant shower of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of a butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow but cruel deaths; for, finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in extreme torments; or, endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated their bodies, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act; for when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they showed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and rivetted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly among the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending; for his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears

These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits; for those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls, quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them and the enemy indiscriminately under foot, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which, running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

In their way, they saw at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the centre, and made an inclosure with their bucklers, by way of intrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the barbarians; but it proved quite otherwise; for, in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation, whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground showing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country, in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion at seeing him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, "That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died out of love for him." A noble sentiment for a young lord! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could; and embracing them, dismissed them from the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves: and many of those who remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners; and after having cut off young Crassus' head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage; and the more, because those who opposed him seemed to abate considerably of their ardour: for the greatest part of them had gone against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers sent successively by his son, to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid; and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from afar apprized the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The barbarians carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young Roman was: "For," said they, "it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery, should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus."

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans; and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage in his disgrace, than he had done before; and, running through the ranks, he cried out, "Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, while you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to reanimate his troops; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas the shouts of the enemy were bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the light horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows; while the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body: except those who, to avoid the arrows, the wounds of which occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received; for the barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the barbarians retired, saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily, to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing their defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of attending to their wounded, the greatest part of whom died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress; for they all saw plainly that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For, to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted that they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face

and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; and to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops, who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in order of battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost much time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls; and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge which Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

The message he had sent to Coponius by those guards was of great service to Crassus; for that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark, but the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took many of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of the lieutenants of Crassus, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the main body of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour; but was at length overpowered by numbers, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to decide either to besiege Carræ if Crassus were there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore despatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak

with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say that Surena demanded an audience with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after, some Arabian soldiers came from the barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place; and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him; that this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius agreed to this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Crassus should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him, that they would go and do their utmost to that effect; and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians, in consequence, were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings, to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some, who suspecting that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him; and Crassus himself returned toward Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called Sinnachi, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot, armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after much trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of these mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and consequently not so secure. This was under that of the Sinnachi, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences, with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that, they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of

rampant for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him fighting in his defence.

Surena seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and that, if the night came on, and the Romans should gain the mountains, it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing the war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity; and, that the effect might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers toward the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice, that contrary to the king's master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; but that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena, and expressed exceeding joy at it; but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily credit it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept this interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice, charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties; and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves, when night came on: he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking with their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words: "You Octavius, and Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I request that, when you have retired in safety, you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome, our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the barbarians sent to him, were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that he and those with him came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what terms they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners ; and, advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see?" said he, "What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horseback! Let a horse be brought immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "that there was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview, each after the custom of his own country."* "Very good," returned Surena; "from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans," added he, "do not always remember your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for a horse; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forward. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a severe wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those who were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill-treatment. Upon this promise, some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides; but of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received since the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria: and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, the command of which Cassius took upon him, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already among her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of opposing and of disputing the empire of the universe with them;

* Among the Romans, the consul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.

and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown by the Parthians as trophies. The prisoners taken on that fatal day were kept there in captivity; and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages, to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the barbarians.* It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace. For themselves, they never could forget it. Cæsar was on the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius, Severus, &c. The surname of Parthius, was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastation into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabazus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, formed a treaty with Orodes; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. While they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight; and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the reputation it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous • who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and who can not bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was one of this character. He perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general

* *Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis et togæ
Oblitus, eternæque Vestæ,
Incolumni Jove, et urbe Roma?*

had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.*

Suren was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at thirty years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority he had also more than any man, and was undoubtedly the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation; and that right had appertained to his family from the re-establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always one thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, one thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him: but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity from Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who disposed of every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose any invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be ready to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops toward the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a strong body of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it; so that not a single man escaped.†

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antiochia, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were forced to retire. This is not to be wondered at, as the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, among whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus, who being situated

* *Destruï per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.—Tacit. Annal. i. iv. c. 18.*

† *A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. epist. x. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 19, 20, 21. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.*

~~between~~ Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both these provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves free Cilicians,* and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles: the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a master-piece; wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us, that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph; and that he refused it, on account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey, not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, and at a time when the state was on the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.†

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the death of Pacorus, and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person who triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.‡

I have said, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

Ventidius, apprehending that the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to

* Eleuthero Cilices.

† Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 65.

Val

Max. l. ix. c. 9.

‡ Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.*

With this view he pretended a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affected at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower down. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they have every advantage over us; and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost a great deal of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judea join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of Mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, although situated very advantageously on an eminence, not doubting that they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon threw them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle; and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaped by flight, and retired to Antiochus, king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ, fourteen years before.

Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him; and, as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.†

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the

* A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. 156 Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. 42. c. 4.

† Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quendam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multis deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum, flebiliter dolebat.—Juven.

Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When **Orodes** had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son **Pacorus** had thrown him, he found himself greatly embarrassed respecting the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. He, however, at last determined to follow the order of birth, and nominated **Phraates**, the eldest and most vicious of them all. He had scarcely taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers whom his father had by the daughter of **Antiochus Eusebes**, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid expressing extreme displeasure on that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated **Hyrchanus**, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.*

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA

I HAVE spoken, in several parts of this history, of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite, in one point of view, all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country of Asia Minor.† The Persians, to whom it first belonged, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended toward Mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other toward Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that **Ariarathes** was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time when Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred and seventy-six years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under **Tiberius**.‡

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named **Ariarathes**, then by kings called **Ariobarzanes**, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, **Archelaus**. According to **Diodorus Siculus**, there were many kings of Cappadocia before **Ariarathes**; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

Ariarathes I. He reigned jointly with his brother **Holofernes**, for whom he had a particular affection.§

Having joined the Persians, in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king **Ochus**.||

Ariarathes II. son of the former, had lived in peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows

* A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

† Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

‡ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360

§ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

|| A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed by the conquest of Cappadocia and had contented himself with some instances of submission.*

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him in possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

Ariarathes III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

As soon as he was apprized of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardoates, king of Armenia. He defeated Anyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and reascended the throne of his ancestors.†

Ariamnes his eldest son succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.‡

Ariarathes IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

Ariarathes V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, making him believe that she had borne him two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other Holofernes.§ Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.||

Ariarathes V. furnished his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent ambassadors to Rome to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation for his fault, two hundred talents. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.¶

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law, Eumenes against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves abiders of the kings of the east, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes : but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. Two years after he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes, upon very rigorous conditions.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during

* A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336 Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599

† A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

‡ A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

§ He is called so by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

¶ A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190

¶ Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 40. l. xxvii. n. 37 et 38.

the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as during the times the history of which we are now relating, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance which his father had contracted with the Romans, in obtaining which he found no difficulty. He applied himself very assiduously to the study of philosophy; from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.*

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes^e refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holofernes with troops, who, pretending himself the brother of Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically.† He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign, by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents which Holofernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him who had confided that deposit with them.‡

Holofernes had retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holofernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more adviseable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.§

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in the war.||

He left six children whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She would have treated the sixth

* A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

† Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334 et 336

‡ A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

§ Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

|| A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 139. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1

in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

Ariarathes VII. He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by her, Ariarathes VIII. and Ariarathes IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes who he had caused to be assassinated.*

Ariarathes VIII. had scarcely ascended the throne, when Mithridates solicited him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle Mithridates, being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son, only eight years old, in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor.† The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

Ariarathes IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans, to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice, his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by Ariarathes VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and, not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who would prefer slavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

Ariobarzanes I. This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and reinstated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be reinstated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Ar-

* A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

† Justin l. xxxviii. c. 2.

meria.* Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.†

Ariobarzanes II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long; he was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

Ariobarzanes III. Cicero, on quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people; a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king.‡ Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides.§ The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus.|| They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior; he was generally of the blood-royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of this temple. From hence the high-priest was so powerful; and in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them.¶ But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him;** for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt; from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and entirely

* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian, in Mith. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

† A. M. 3932. Ant. J. C. 66.

‡ A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epist. 2 et 4. l. xv. ad Famil. et Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

§ Ariobarzanes opera meū vivit, regnat 'Εν παρῳδῳ consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus ἀπεστέρηται, non inodo ἀδελφεῖς ἐχθροῦ, præbuit, regem, regnumque servavi.—Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

|| Strab. xii. p. 535 et 557.

¶ Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfecit ut e regno ille discederet: rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtinere.—Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

** Cæsar de Bell. Civ. . iii. Hist. de Bell. Alex.

subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces, he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.*

This good treatment gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him; so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him; and having taken him prisoner put him to death.†

Ariarathes X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was a grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by birth, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandons the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-second book, and joined the Romans.‡ He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of remarkable beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna.§ What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes reascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Antony expelled him, and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.||

Archelaus. That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, as to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.¶

He assisted Tiberius to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis, near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodorus, the widow of Polemon, king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power; for as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.**

His reign was very long and happy; but his latter years were unfortunate, in consequence of the revenge of Tiberius.†† That prince, who saw with pain that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him, to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandizement, demanded and obtained permission to return to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business, and the hurry of Rome, for the re-establishment of his health.‡‡ His retreat was considered as a real banishment; and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. During his stay

* Diod. l. xlii. p. 183.

† A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. xlvii.

‡ Strab. l. xii. p. 553. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116.

§ A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

|| A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

¶ A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 944.

** A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671 et l. xii. p. 556.

†† A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. 3. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 90.

‡‡ Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initii, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit.—Paterc. l. ii. c. 92.

at Rhodes, king Archelaus who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at Eleusis, distant six leagues from Rhodes, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of the principal friends of Augustus, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time.* On the contrary, when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the east, was sent into Armenia by Augustus,† to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him every honour, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus, to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius Atticus, who, during the divisions with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.‡

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province.§ Livia wrote to him; and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.||

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it the heavy duties which it had been compelled to pay to the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca,¶ a city situated upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of Charondas.** The city was built upon the River Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths; and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them

* Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur.—Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

† A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

‡ Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obtrectatio tanto intercedebat, quantula fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.—Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.

§ A. M. 4020. A. D. 16.

|| Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque imitti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit.—Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

¶ Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539.

** This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made

overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Gallatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent; for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia; and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses, and mules.* It was from thence the horses were brought, so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of slaves and false witnesses.† The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and put one another to the question by the rack, and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witnesses might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury,‡ though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common among them; "Lend me your evidence, and I'll pay you with mine."§

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators: and it became a proverb, that a rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to this rule.||

* Boet. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

† Mancipis locuples eget a ris Cappadocum rex.—Horat.

‡ Cic. pro Flac. p. 9, 10.

§ Da mihi testimonium verum.

|| Θαντον ὃ πν λευκός κοράκις πτηνὰ; χίλωνας
ἔστιν. ἢ ὄρεται ἄνθρωπος Καππαδοκίαν.

BOOK TWENTY-FIRST.



THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

PLAN.

THIS book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson Hieronymus, the troubles of Syracuse occasioned by it, and the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is a concise abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and on Archimedes.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.—HIERO II. CHOSEN CAPTAIN-GENERAL BY THE SYRACUSANS, AND SOON AFTER APPOINTED KING.

HIERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse.* As his mother was a slave, his father, Hierocles, according to the barbarous customs of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him as could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In conversation, he was affable and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing royal, except a throne.†

Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority, civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of a prudence and maturity that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of choosing their officers, were, however, unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of captain-general.‡

* A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

† In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regiam deesse præter regnum videretur.—Justin.

‡ A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 3, 9

From his first measures, it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. Observing, indeed, that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of innovation, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for that purpose. He had many persons devoted to his interests, and had great influence with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter: and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another, much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent, malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt, who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, as they were too well united among themselves; that if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal, and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country, and security of his person, to proceed to this cruel and sad extremity, directly contrary to his character and justice, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field, under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines.* When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts; on the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans; on the other, those who were not so. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them to pieces; after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his office in peace. The Mamertines, elated with their success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. A great part of the enemy was left upon the field, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.†

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems very probable, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and the allies afterwards gave to it; but can we suppose in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was no compulsion in that; if his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

* They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

† *Ant. M.* 3736. *Ant. J. C.* 263.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of, entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large elsewhere.*

Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning toward Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news, the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing farther to apprehend, Appius tacked about and passed the strait without danger.†

The Mamertines, between menaces and surprise, having driven out of the citadel the officer who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was warm. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retired to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to besiege it.‡

When the news of the success of Appius arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.§

The consternation of Sicily, and the number and force of the Roman legions, enabled Hiero to form some idea of the event of this new war. He was sensible that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged that his power would be very insecure, in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between those two republics, equal in their forces; and that as long as they should be contending, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid that the Carthaginians, masters at sea, might cut off all transportation of provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them and pay them one hundred talents in money.

From that time Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor enjoyed, for a longer time, the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. For more than fifty years after his being elected king, he and his people enjoyed profound peace, and were only spectators of the conflagrations and distress that surrounded them, occasioned by the wars between the two most powerful states of the world.

* Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians.

† A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Polyb. . i. p. 10, 11.

* † Frontin. Strat. . i. c. 4.

§ Polyb. l. i. p. 15, 16.

The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions, at times when the Roman army, without his aid, would have been exposed to excessive famine.*

The interval between the end of the first Punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about twenty-five years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

Polybus only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him.

The prince perceived, that to maintain himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained numerous advantages over the Carthaginians, should, in case of complete success, find no farther obstacles to their projects, and form de signs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be on his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.†

Hiero's sole application during this interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles who preceded him, some years, and the intestine divisions arising from them, had occasioned; an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which frequently inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; however, in general, they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience; the proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them cheerfully.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants, who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECTION II —HIERO'S PACIFIC REIGN. HE DIES AT A VERY ADVANCED AGE, MUCH REGRETTED BY THE PEOPLE.

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great aim was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers, whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect; as, during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero, to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to render agri

* Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

† A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

culture honourable, which he looked upon as the certain means of rendering his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, besides employing numerous hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and brings them into the houses of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the merited fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of a wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this object. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty, to study and make himself master of all the rules of agriculture. He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, the loss of which is much to be regretted; but he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic; to render the condition of the husbandmen, who constituted the greatest part of the people, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them; to obviate such disorders as might arise to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations which might possibly be attempted in consequence of them. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and, at the same time, conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed, that all things should be disposed according to "the laws of Hiero;"* in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws; and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.†

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest, that the country should be well cultivated; that estimates should be made of all the lands; and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind, and not in money, were called "decumani," that is to say, "farmers of the tenths." Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince, and good economist. He knew very well that there was reason to apprehend that the country people, who consider the most legal and moderate impositions as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to conceal any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty.‡ But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avarice of the collectors, for whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home, upon any pretext whatever. Cicero says, accordingly, when inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journeys, "it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandman to be

* Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret.—Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 15.

† Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in arcis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno peccet arator, sine maxima poena, fraudare decumanum.—Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 20.

brought from the country to the city, from their plough to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting lawsuits. "*Miserum atque iniquum, ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab arratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitum litem atque iudicium.*" And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? "*Judicio ut arator decumanum persequatur!*"*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour; gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions; and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the opinion of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have loaded his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining those victories have cost him! And of what advantage would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own, in a manner, by the cultivation of the lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

It was in the second Punic war that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped, to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived at Messina, to offer his services to that consul, and to assure him, that although advanced in age, he would show the same zeal for the Roman people as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expense. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, but made no use of them at that time.†

Hiero's inviolable fidelity toward the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each succeeding engagement being more unfortunate and bloody than the preceding. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced into the senate, told them, "that Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted on their late disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person; that though he well knew that the grandeur of the Roman people was always more admirable in times of adversity than after the most signal successes, he had sent them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it. That they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperity. That they had also imported three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley; and that if the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be transported to whatever places they should appoint. That he knew the Roman people employed none in their armies but citizens and allies; but that he had seen light-armed strangers in their camp. That he had therefore sent them a thousand archers and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Baleares and Moors of Hannibal's army." They added to this aid a very salutary piece of counsel, which was, that the prætor who should be sent to command in Sicily, might despatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power, by that diversion, to send any succours to Hannibal.‡

* Cic. Orat. in Ver. de F. rum. n. 15.

† A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 50. 51.

‡ Ibid. l. xxii. n. 37. 33.

The senate answered the king's ambassadors, in very obliging and honourable terms, "that Hiero acted like a very generous prince and a most faithful ally, that from the time that he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them had been constant and unalterable; in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and magnificently supported them: that the people had a due sense of such generosity: that some cities of Italy had already presented the Roman people with gold, who, after having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it: that the victory was too favourable an augury not to be received: that they would place her in the capitol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting abode." All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus observes here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first, in the generous design he forms of presenting the Romans with three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then, in the industrious precaution he uses to prevent their refusal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon the account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.*

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situated as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened, the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated opposite to it, and lay very convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it firmly in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was a decisive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans, and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign are few, they by no means give us a mean idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of more particular information concerning his actions.

The sum of one hundred talents, which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public square at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed, the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give himself, and the glory he acquires by them.†

* Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostre muneri misit. Neque ignavis verecundia: majorum eorumque, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eorum religione motos, munificentia sua uti cogeret; voluntate mitendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis.—Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.

† Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus, (Idyll. 16.) named after the king of whom we are speaking, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed as we have seen, for his liberality.

It was to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which she availed herself when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions Archimedes, the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but by his birth, being related to Hiero. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarcely leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.*

Hiero, however, had sufficient influence over Archimedes to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanics, which, although they depend on the hand, are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the power of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate "that with a certain given power any weight whatever might be moved." And, applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this which we inhabit, by going to that, he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes, preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, chose one of the galleys in that port, and caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by great numbers of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could contain. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as steadily, as if it floated upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the power of motion, was utterly astonished; and, judging from that experiment, the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed him

self solely in his pleasures, Archimedes might have remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science would have been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state! But when in their youth they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, for the study of princes ought not to extend farther in that point, they esteem such as distinguish themselves by learning, sometimes converse with them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, the advantage of which is soon reaped by the state. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero, which without doubt was the effect of his excellent education, for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the wonderful machines of war which were used during the siege of Syracuse, show how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only subjects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things: but it is also as true, that most of those which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not deviate from this merely intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motion of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the view of objects by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other similar objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiar with the generality of mankind. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Should we from thence conclude that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, till then buried in obscurity, from whence originated those lights and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their introduction a sensible and manifest utility, and inspired the Romans with astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn, a commerce in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days among the workmen, to animate them by his presence.*

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with large copper bolts that weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside contained three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a flight of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were thirty apartments, in each of which were four beds for men. The apartments for the officers and seamen contained fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the stairs, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid in different colours, with historical pieces taken from the *Iliad* of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship, with gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water in every direction to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, their roots being placed in great vessels filled

with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The harbours served to shade the walks.

After this came the apartment of Venus, filled with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of Cyprus wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was placed a sun-dial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great copper vessels, and a bathing vessel made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the head of the ship was a great reservoir of water, which held one hundred thousand quarts, nearly 400 hogsheads.

All round the ship on the outside were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship: these Atlases were at equal distances from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its size; two at the head, two at the stern and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon each side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes; it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits or eighteen feet, to the distance of a stadium, or one hundred and twenty-five paces.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There were also hooks and masses of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron, to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings, (*corvi*), which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men, completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram on this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him one thousand of *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of *Pyraeus*. The *medimnis*, according to Father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram has been handed down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero, having found that there was scarcely any port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, where it could lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king Ptolemy,* and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other transports of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals, or two millions of pounds of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different cloths, without including the provisions for the ships crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description which Athenæus has left us of this great ship.

I could have wished that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's fidelity was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal de-

* There is reason to believe that this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

section of their allies. But the wasting of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and among others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians.* He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if his sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely, that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of ninety years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.†

ARTICLE II

THE REIGN OF HIERONYMUS, THE TROUBLES ARISING FROM IT, AND THE SIEGE AND TAKING OF SYRACUSE.

SECTION I.—HIERONYMUS, GRANDSON OF HIERO, SUCCEEDS HIM. HE IS KILLED IN A CONSPIRACY.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independence, and far from possessing strength to resist the seducing allurements of sovereign power.‡ Hiero's apprehensions that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom, would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with all their influence, from the hope that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank among his guardians. It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.§

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had, till then, been educated.

The king dying after these arrangements, the guardians whom he had appointed for his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who had lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their recent loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.||

* A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 215. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

† *Movissetque in Siciliæ, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspitione adapergeret, amantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumsisset.*—Liv.

‡ *Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modice laturum.*—Liv.

§ *Non facile erat, nonagesimum jam agentem annum, circumcisso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, ita tenere animum, et convertere ad publicam privatam curam.*—Liv.

|| *Funus sit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam cura suorum celebre.*—Liv

The first care of Andranadorus, was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them plainly that the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time nearly fifteen years old ; so that Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united all their power in his own person. The wisest arrangements made by princes at their death, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king, so well beloved by his subjects as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered.* Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage ; a visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliging things ; so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarcely approach him ; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of debauch ; a cruelty so excessive, as to extinguish all sense of humanity. This odious disposition in the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.†

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to others ; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and frequent warm disputes, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus was discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the torture, he confessed the crime as to himself ; but all the violence of the most cruel torments, could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, among whom he named Thraso, as the ring-leader of the whole enterprise ; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his influence had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests, rendered the evidence probable ; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during the torture of their companion, either fled or concealed himself ; so much did they rely upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partizans of Carthage. Hieronymus despatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, also named Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicyles, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general ; the two others continued with the king, by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island

* Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat f. vor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritatis Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit.—Liv.

† Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque conerientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbi aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus non alienis modo, sed tutoribus etiam; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas.—Liv.

should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, puffed up by the praises of his flatterers, demanded, even some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things respecting it; that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him when he had learned to treat ambassadors seriously and with respect; and after having cautioned, rather than desired, him not to change sides too rashly they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their design; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a remarkable instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but in the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said he law, and not Hiero, reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful, for no other end than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life; he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death, as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct than violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them, not as subjects but slaves, led the most wretched life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted no one, no person placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus terminated a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving that the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.*

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of liberty with which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures among them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, altogether appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

* A. M. 8790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—25.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it, putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by showing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day at sunrise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither sat, nor been consulted upon any affair, since Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them; but that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves; that he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them till the last extremity: that at present, it was his advice, to send deputies to Andranadorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the isle, and withdraw his garrisons; that if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or because the best fortified part of the isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him just apprehensions. But his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, a haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, "that it was never proper to quit the saddle, i.e. the tyranny, till pulled off the horse by the heels;* that a great fortune might be renounced in a moment; but that it would cost much time and pains to attain it: that it was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time; and while he amused the senate with ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it was easy to bring over to his interest, by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to follow it implicitly. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day, having thrown open the gates of the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning toward the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis, "you have done," said he, "a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained the height of which it is capable. If you do not take care to establish peace and union among the citizens, the state is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty."

After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and their temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled, according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, among the principal of whom Andranadorus was

* Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet neque usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis; quæ pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, reliquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

electd with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epycides, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once suffered to pass by. The negligence in assigning the time of their departure, gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them on account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who till then had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time to disclose them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately slain by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their death; but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name: that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him: that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny; that not being able to succeed in their design by force they had employed dissimulation and perfidy: that neither favours and honours, nor the electing him, who was the declared enemy of liberty, one of the supreme magistrates, among the deliverers of their country, had been able to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus; that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the royal blood, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At these words, the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception. Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean between those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself, as was the case at that time.* At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata, daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, daughter of Gelon, the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were first killed. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus, who having been sent an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary

* Hæc natura multitudinis est; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferre desunt irarum indulgentes ministri qui avidos atque amentes perantes plebium animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritant.—Liv

banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprised that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of the house, near her household gods. When the assassins arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus." She represented to them, "that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: that not having had any share in the fortunes and designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without influence or support? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious enemies with compassion; but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order of the people came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people, in a moment, proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length some person in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes; another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had in view of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal; but they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

On arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired the people with great aversion to the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion, it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, "that no city was ever nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actually was at that time: that if they all with unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy: that if they were divided, the war would not be more arduous nor more dangerous between the Ro-

nans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracusans themselves against each other ; as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own troops, armies, and generals : that it was therefore absolutely requisite to make their agreement and union among themselves their sole care and application ; and that to know which of the two alliances was to be preferred, was now the most important question : that for the rest, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to carry it against that of Hieronymus ; and that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced for fifty years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they could not much rely for the present, and with which they had as little reason to be satisfied with regard to the past. He added a last motive, of no little force, which was, that in declaring against the Romans, they would have the war immediately upon their hands ; whereas, on the side of Carthage, the danger was more remote."

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state ; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved on, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for relieving the city from a turbulent, unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs : for he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily, with his brother Epicydes, who having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword ; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium ; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they fully believed, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy

and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders, Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with violent menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army, however, continued its march toward Megara; and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, who composed nearly the whole of this body of troops. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans among them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformable to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of the friends they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were made free, the prisoners set at liberty, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECTION II.—MARCELLUS BESIEGES SYRACUSE. THE DREADFUL MACHINES OF ARCHIMEDES, WHO IS KILLED.

AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance toward Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to inform the inhabitants, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land;* by land on the side of Hexapyla: and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.†

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers, armed with bows, slings, and darts, to clear the walls. There were a great number of vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation: and apprehended that nothing could resist so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts: and it would indeed have been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of Archimedes, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which were thrown with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Book VIII. Chap. 2 Sect. 1.

† A. M. 3790 Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. c. 33. 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 616—518.

and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the seaside. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance; which threw the Romans into such confusion as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let down by a chain; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with his hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then, by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines, dragging the ship toward the shore by cords and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Galleys frequently, seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators; after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expense, machines called sambucæ, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He selected eight galleys of five benches for that use, which were joined together by pairs, the oars being removed from the sides of the vessels next each other. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which, when erect, was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pulleys; others at the head, assisted in raising it with levers. The galleys afterwards being advanced to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the sambucæ was then let down, in a similar manner to a drawbridge, upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. While it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a stone upon it that weighed from one thousand two hundred and fifty, to twelve thousand pounds,* then a second, and immediately after a third; all which, striking against it with dreadful force, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sunrise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes by this means to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and were of course more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the wall at little distances, where he had placed scorpions,† which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by the effect.

* This weight was computed at ten quintals. The quintal, which the Greeks called *ταλάντον* was of several kinds. The least weighed one hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largest more than twelve hundred.

† The scorpions were machines similar to cross-bows, which the ancients used to discharge darts and stones

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to a great number of darts, or overwhelmed with huge stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beaten to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies: for Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls; and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not however, forbear pleasantries upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucæ so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only; for the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length, perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months which they besieged the city, there were no kinds of stratagem which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, except the assault, which they never dared to attempt again. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Had Syracuse been deprived of the single aid of Archimedes, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably have taken the city; his presence alone arrested and disconcerted all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge: I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss Syracuse would have sustained, if, to save a small expense and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince, to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it useful; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so; which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very arms of peace, he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success;* though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which was sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptavit idonea bello.—Horus
And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war

There is, among these machines, of which we can scarcely conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius an almost contemporary author, who treated of facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses in experiencing the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse shows how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning glass is spoken of, by means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. It must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seemed impracticable.

After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.*

At the same time, Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily, but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back to Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse, with Appius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates in this year, which must have been the second of the siege. And indeed, Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had assigned to the first the transactions of the second; for it is highly improbable that nothing memorable occurred in it.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an unsuccessful attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After gaining this victory, he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus in his place.

In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But, before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which eighty of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into †, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.†

* A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 36.

† A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. xxv. n. 23—31

This enterprise having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip, king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time, he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army: a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured him of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival which the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and mirth. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he ordered a thousand chosen troops to advance in profound silence, with their ladders to the wall. When they had got to the top without noise or tumult, the others, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders, followed. These thousands soldiers, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the great gate of Hexapylum, they took the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but to terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse and prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at daybreak entered Villanova, or the new city,* by the quarter called Tyche. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon his extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was on the point of experiencing. He called to mind two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut to pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them; the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations were in vain.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryelus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis, and in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first, with the Sicilians, having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and giving the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded. Epicydes at the same time made a sortie upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina. As it was the autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not extensive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season; but afterwards, the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, spread the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of the unburied corpses, continually presented a mournful object to those who were living. Nothing was heard, night and day, but groans and lamentations. At length, their being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade were of great relief to them: he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back reinforcements, returned with one hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who feared that if those winds continued, this fleet might become discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increase every day, and that if he delayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape; but when he saw the Roman ships advance toward him in good order, he on a sudden, for what reason is not stated, took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning to a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat of the conditions upon which Syracuse should surrender. It was readily agreed to on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries they demanded a conference with those whom Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them that they had been sent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the

three governors whom Epicydes had left in his place ; which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, " that for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to them : that if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the Syracusans : that it was not till after they had been apprized of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and begun the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants ; that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of faith to them, were still alive ? That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but for themselves, if they suffered the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans to pass : that they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, being just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants ; and that the first use they should make of their liberty, was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by all. It was, however, judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of whom were chosen from among the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : " It was not the people of Syracuse who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still to Rome than to his country ; and afterwards, when the peace was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusans that infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. They were the enemies who made war against you, after having made us slaves, either by violence, or fraud and perfidy ; and it cannot be said that we have had any times of liberty, that have not also been times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we become masters of ourselves, by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, we come the very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For the rest," continued he, addressing himself to Marcellus, " your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not sufficient to make known the greatness and strength of the city you have taken ; posterity can judge of them only by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should show to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us ; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal monument of the valour and clemency of him who took and preserved it. It is unjust, that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former was your enemy. Permit me to say that you have experienced the amity of Hiero ; but the foolish enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union among those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, while the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected ; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all whom they met to the sword, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six

officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, that it was concluded with the Romans, that their case should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same moment, the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Among those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mercius, whom they found means to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa, to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At daybreak the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded, by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus, having received advice that he was master of the isle, and a part of Achradina, and, that Mercius, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not amount to as much as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped by a passage expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing farther from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: "that Hiero for fifty years had not done the Roman people more good, than those who have been masters of Syracuse some years past had intended to do them harm; but that their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and that they had punished themselves for their violation of treaties, in a more severe manner than the Romans could have desired: that he had besieged Syracuse during three years, not that the Roman people might reduce it to slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolvers from continuing their oppression: that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege; but that he thought he had made himself ample amends by the glory of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve."

After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safeguards in the houses of the Syracusans who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by his troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure; and not only his eyes, but, the whole faculties of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier came suddenly in upon him, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded neither his problem nor the demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected a monument to him among the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE

SECTION I.—TOMB OF ARCHIMEDES DISCOVERED BY CICERO.

ARCHIMEDES, in his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, than a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere, and to note below them the relation which those two solids, the thing containing, and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relieves, wherein the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appearing like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans; but, he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so-much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than one hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgotten by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

At the time when he was quaestor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes;* a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument among them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city, facing Agrigentum, among a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquities may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, "that he had found what he looked for."† The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time: so that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.‡

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account; but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant, with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says, "I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, a LITTLE, OBSCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his dust,§ and bring him into view with his rule and compasses in his hand."|| Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a different class, the great-

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64. 66.

† Ευγενεα, in verb. Archim.

‡ Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

§ He means the dust used by geometricians.

|| Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Archite vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe Humilem Hominem nem a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedes.

est geometrician, of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure, as a common artificer employed in making machines, unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry, and such speculative sciences, never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy?

"Orabit causas melius, et relique meatus
Describent radio, et surgent sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento." Virgil. *Æn.* 6

"Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war, thy own majestic way."—Dryden.

SECTION II.—SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what is called *Græcia Major*, in opposition to Greece properly called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Architas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.*

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government, till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they occur in different sections, and are dispersed in different books, I have thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connexions might be more evident, from their being shown together and in general, and the places pointed out where they are treated with due extent.

Gelon. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, while that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Hamilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For, on one side I suppose, with Diodorus Siculus,† that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other, I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.‡

Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Book II. Part ii.—B. VII. Ch. ii. Sect. 1.§

Hiero I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Book VII. Ch. ii. Sect. 1. 3d division.¶

Thrasylbulus. Thrasylbulus, his brother, succeeded him. They rendered himself odious to all his subjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him from the throne and city, after a reign of one year. B. VII. Chap. ii. Sect. 1. 3d division.¶

* A. M. 3295.
† A. M. 3525.

† In the History of the Carthaginians.
‡ A. M. 3532.

† A. M. 3530.
¶ A. M. 3543.

TIMES OF LIBERTY.

After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.*

An annual festival was instituted, to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

SYRACUSE ATTACKED BY THE ATHENIANS.

During this short interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the six'h year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, B. VII. Ch. iii. end of Sect. 6.†

Dionysius the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Book II. Part i. Ch. 1.—B. I. Part ii. Ch. 1.†

Dionysius the younger. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracted a particular intimacy with Plato, who went to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius, and had frequent conversations with him. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, but soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.§

Besieged by Dion, he escaped from Sicily, and retired into Italy.||

Dion's excellent qualities. He was assassinated in his own house by Callippus.¶

Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expelled Callippus, and established himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily was agitated by great commotions.**

Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of these troubles, re-ascended the throne, ten years after having quitted it.††

At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retired to Corinth. Book II. Part iii. Ch. 1.—B. XI. Sect. 5.††

TIMES OF LIBERTY.

Timoleon restored liberty to Syracuse. He passed the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers B. XI. Ch. ii. Sect. 6.§§

This interval of liberty was not of long duration.

Agathocles. Agathocles, in a short time made himself tyrant of Syracuse B. II. Part ii. Ch. 1. near the end.||||

He committed unparalleled cruelties.

He formed one of the boldest designs related in history, carried the war into Africa; made himself master of the strongest places, and ravaged the whole country.

After various events, he perished miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

TIMES OF LIBERTY.

Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.¶¶

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. B. I. Part ii Chap. 2. near the end. B XVI. Sect. 7.*†

* A. M. 3544. † A. M. 3589. ‡ A. M. 3598. § A. M. 3632.
 ¶ A. M. 3644. ¶¶ A. M. 3646. ** A. M. 3647. †† A. M. 3654. ††† A. M. 3657
 §§ A. M. 3658. ||| A. M. 3685. ¶¶¶ A. M. 3713. *† A. M. 3726

Hiero II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long and almost always pacific.

Hieronimus. He reigned scarcely one year. His death was followed with great troubles and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily, to its total reduction, is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them; but those wars were of little importance, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first punic war. By that treaty, Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECTION III.—REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE SYRACUSANS, AND UPON ARCHIMEDES.

By the taking of Syracuse, all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire; but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victors and punishment of the vanquished. "*Quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pœnæ belli,*" Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people, retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings.* And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. She was the first of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories among them.†

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero; knowing, as he did, the obligations of their office, and, intent as he was, upon the due discharge of them. It is highly pleasing to hear him complain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he was going to expose, he says: In all the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity, not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular use, but as a charge confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world; and in this thought, I not

* *Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, quæ suis antea paruiſſent.*—Cic.

† *Omniū nationum exterarum princeps Siciliæ se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit; prima omnia, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provinciæ est appellata; prima docuit majores nostros, quam præteritum esset exteris gentibus imperare. Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provinciâ gradus imperii patebat. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthagini tantæ concidissent; nisi illud, et rei frumentariorum subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siciliam rebus signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit: ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, quos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret.*—Cic. Ver. 3. n. 2. 3.

only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those that are authorized by nature and necessity. I am now intended for *Ædile*. I call the gods to witness, that however honourable this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more solicitude and disquietude than joy and pleasure from it; so much do I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up, but confided deservedly by the choice and discernment of my country.”*

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as Cicero reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman **empire**, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.†

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a vast theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic such sudden, frequent, violent and various revolutions: sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants; at others under the government of the wisest kings: sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law and the empire of reason; it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty; from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the elder and younger, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, and the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary, to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconsistency of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what I am convinced conducted the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

* O dii immortales — Ita mihi meam voluntatem spernere relique vite vestra populi que R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accipi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum conjectos arbitrer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terrarum theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis conjunctibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus Ædilis. Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur.—Cic. Ver. 7. 35—37.

† Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et securæ, et tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia reipublica juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædani tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vite scripta, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse.—Cic. Ver. n. 39.

There were besides other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

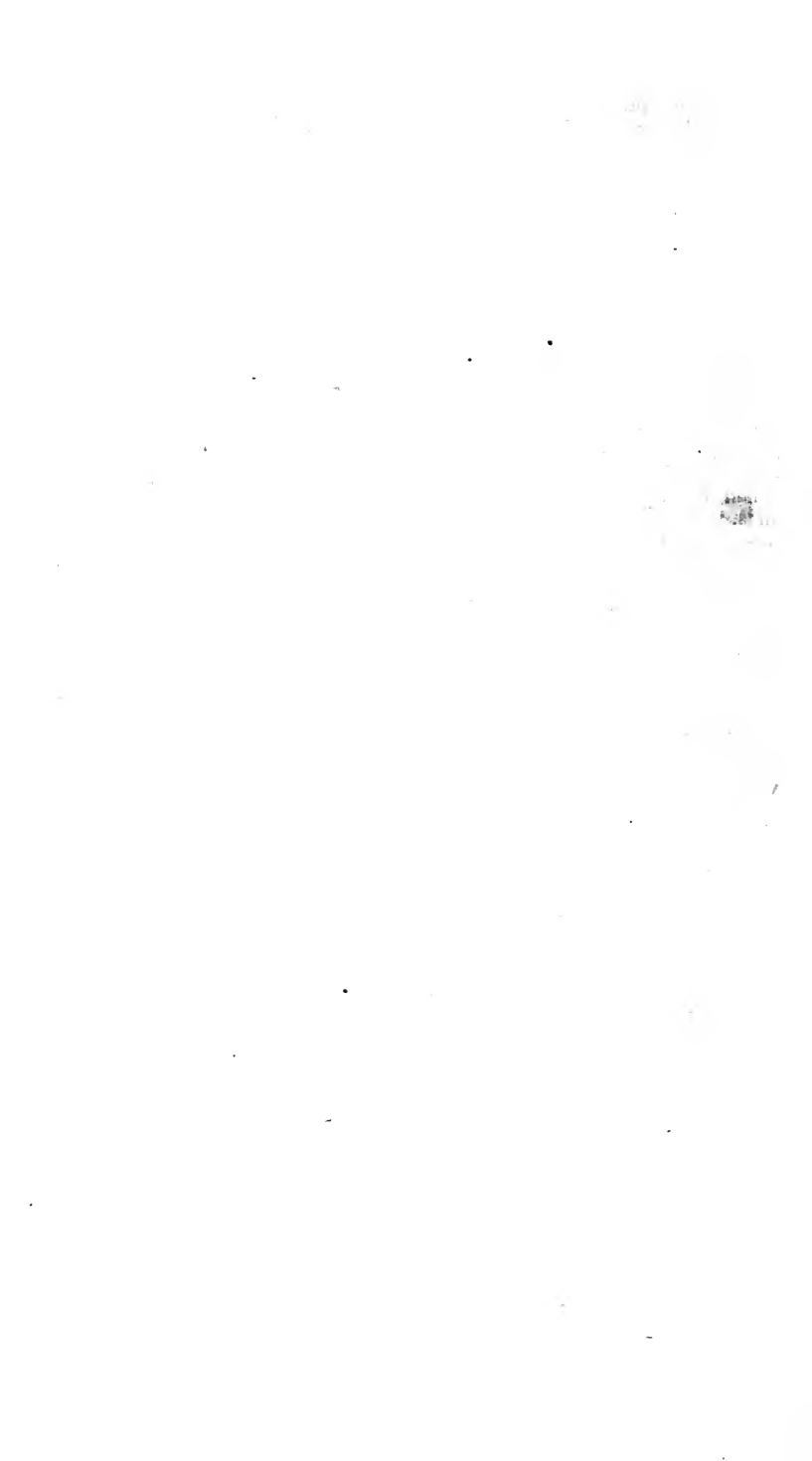
Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity and good nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even frenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and cringing like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled to sleep, they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be permitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, as Galba afterwards said of the Romans, that they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude;* so that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures; and in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity than the fault of those who governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

* Imperatorum es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.—Tacit. Hist.



BOOK TWENTY-SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF PONTUS.

PLAN.

THIS book includes the space of sixty years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates; from the year of the world 3830 to the year 3943.

SECTION I.

**MITHRIDATES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PONTUS. LIBRARY OF ATHENS
CARRIED TO ROME.**

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported during almost thirty years against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He was descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabazus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But, besides that, we do not find the name of Aratabazus among those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign.* His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it.† Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave rise to his enmity for them.‡

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. § Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended that this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man, who seemed very fit for such a part, as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such; and sent her to Rome, to assist and support, by her presence, the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought be-

* A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 124.

† Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178.

‡ Aemmon. in Excerptis Photii, c. 32.

§ A. M. 3213. Ant. J. C. 91

fore the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they would not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave unbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.*

While Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Persian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces,† to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent; one for Ariobarzanes, who was present; another for Orobasus; and that in the middle for himself. The Parthian king, offended at his deputy for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any intercourse with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean time he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards; and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, one of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriades, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, was descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed that Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.‡

The first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes the son of Mithridates in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time: his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king; but Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.§

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support: but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same object, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the low country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied to discharging part of his debts.

* A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

† This was Mithridates II.

‡ Strabo, l. II. p. 531, 532.

§ A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, caused his troops to march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented that the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to obtain it himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and to cease to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not to return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable; and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had desired. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned among his troops; all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; without including one hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a long discourse, to animate them against the Romans.* He represented to them, "that there was no room for examining whether war or peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking them first, had spared them that inquiry; that their business was to fight and conquer; that he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shown upon so many occasions, and lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia; that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the heart of Italy itself; when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany overran all Italy; that the time was come for humbling those proud republicans, who had the same view with regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the throats of the universe; that for the rest, the war his soldiers were now entering upon, was highly different from that they had sustained with so much valor in the horrid deserts and frozen regions of Scythia. that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country of the

* I have greatly abridged this discourse, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius of whom he is only the epitomizer. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey: that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges, held the name of Roman in horror, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers: that they followed him not so much to a war as to assured victory and certain spoils.* The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.†

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius, proconsul in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and had carried it on with so much negligence, and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most excruciating torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks, whom he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey.‡ That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times, who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.§

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Momiua, he took her along with him in his train.

Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor, upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a certain day.|| The women, children, and domestics were included in this prescription. To these orders was annexed

* *Nunc se diversum belli conditionem ingredi. Nem neque cælo Asiæ esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet; adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.*—Justin.—Sectio publicanorum, "in this passage, properly signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those, who, for default of payment of taxes and imposts, had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans." Calumniæ litium, "are the unjust quirks and chicanery which served as pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour."

† Justin. l. 38. c. 3—7.

‡ Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 401. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60.

§ Plut. Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

|| *Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, utque una literarum significatione, cives Romano secundos trucidandosque denotavit.*—Cic

a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living or bury the dead, and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The recital only of this sanguinary order is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all these provinces, when it was put in execution! Eighty thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.*

Having been informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia, against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.†

All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge at Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.‡

When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.§

Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.||

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other marched in person to the port of Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he had waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expense, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were constantly employed in working the machines only. Wood

* A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro Lege Manil. n. 7.

† Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. ‡ Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 492

§ Plut. in Sylla. p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 139—197. || A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines which were often either broken or spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planned in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for great sums of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "that they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept, in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "that he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured, that the god saw him do it with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. "Truly kings," says Plutarch, "in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage,* they put the state to no other expense in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers than to fear his enemies." Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever, for carrying on the siege he had engaged in; the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery in which Aristion indulged every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence was conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sorties were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the

* Αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βίαν εὐκρίαι καὶ δαπαναῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς σφύραις.

slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged **would not** have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them the most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans; so that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, while Ariston commanded in the city, were rendered useless. He resolved to make a general sally: the traitors threw a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "To-morrow at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, that was in want of every thing. Upon advice of the same kind, the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them, to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines, also, they made a passage to the foot of the walls, under which they excavated the ground, and having propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burned, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides; but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, but confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas. The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with arrows, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eurypylus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them by saying, "You may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes to yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During the audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called Ceramicus,* and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place; and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and

*The public place at Athens

having made himself master of the wall, after a weak resistance entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who, in several houses, found human flesh which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Ariston, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burned all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxiles, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of one hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and ninety chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemy could immediately discover their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced the generals of Archelaus to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops: for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many thousand men preparing for battle, and the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which, while they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.*

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, and even several days' journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosses, under pretence of their better security; but with the design, that when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time: but when he saw their ardour increase from this opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

* Plut. *a* Sylla, p. 461—466. Appian. 196—203. A. M. 5918. Ant. J. C. 86.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from his post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops, which he did. In the mean time, he drew up his army in order of battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena; while Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot, in a large compass, with the design of surrounding the second line, and charging it in the rear.

At that instant, the two men of Cheronæa having gained the top of Thurium, with their small troops, without being perceived by the enemy, showed themselves on a sudden. The barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them closely down the hill; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted, and made a great slaughter of them: the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell back on the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual, as the barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushed them back, and with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broken; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and, with sword in hand, removed the enemies' pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had withdrawn from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted among the heavy armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had thrown them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees toward the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about toward the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxiles at the same time led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against Murena; while each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing, taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After his great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxiles, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the music-games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion to the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympus; and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.*

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party, for, at this time, the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest, had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But on his arrival at the city of Melitea, in Thessaly, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first: for Dorylaeus had arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were eighty thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike, and best disciplined of all the troops of Mithridates, and thrown himself into Bœotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew that the advice he had given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenos for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them toward the marshes. The barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forward toward the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say, it was at Orchomenos." They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury that the troops of Archelaus turned their backs. The barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day at sunrise, Sylla led back his troops toward the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so furiously, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops who had continued in the camp, into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it with those that fled,

and made himself master of it. The marshes in a moment were dyed with blood, and the dike filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks lost the greater part of their troops; Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all whom he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

He was not more successful in Asia than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruised in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and the generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.*

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates at sea twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, what is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journey, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history; so that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.†

While Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy to the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as a place of safety; so that in a short time, Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burned his house, and ruined his lands; and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. While he was in this cruel di-

* Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 593. Appian. p. 204—210.

† Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumperat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam. Itaque, cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis.—Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. p. 2.

lemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interest with that of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him, on his side, to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him the fleet of Mithridates under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him, "if, being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a barbarian king, you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of your master, how dare you to propose the abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as me? Do you imagine our condition and affairs to be equal? Have you forgot my victories? Do you not remember that you are the self-same Archelaus whom I have defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of Orchomenos?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely; and, dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: "that Mithridates should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia: that he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: that he should pay the Romans two thousand talents for the expenses of the war, and furnish him seventy armed galleys, with their whole equipage: and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions; and despatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received the ambassadors of Mithridates at Larissa, who came to declare to him, that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone, "What say you? Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia; and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, for having only left him the hand with which he butchered a hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note when I go over to Asia; though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time, that he would not use such language, had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose; and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

Archelaus, upon his return, joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced

by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes; and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for supplicants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him; and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprised at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.*

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused one hundred thousand Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria: and that if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruits of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than one hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. But what is most to be admired in Sylla, is, that during three years, while the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intentions, of turning his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home.† He was also highly laudable for his constancy, in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace prescribed to him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came unarmed, ran out to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after having in vain attempted to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand talents, and besides that, injured individuals exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived

* A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84.

† Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnarum Marianæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque ex æro metu, ubi quod aliter esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum.—Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 24.

at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four drachmas a day, and entertain at table, himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty drachmas, and besides that, a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher at his death had left his writings to Theophrastes, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death, those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependence, those heirs, apprehending that these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost one hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which, after several generations, were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where for the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotten in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. Those blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and in some places with great want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in these works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon having died a short time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public, and to whom the world is indebted for the works of that great philosopher.*

SECTION II.—SECOND AND THIRD WARS WITH MITHRIDATES. TRAGICAL END OF HIS SISTERS AND WIVES.

SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaign under him.†

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates having returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king; and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great service in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which an excessive love of power is apt to excite, and to what a height the prince who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to

* Phot. in Sylla p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. vii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

† A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 213—216.

Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Archelaus of having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was in reality nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. He therefore continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion; and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field; and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.*

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena, to order him in reality to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as a hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising, no doubt, to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying; fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent †

Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, being compelled to do so by Sylla, who died the same year.‡ But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions that were not well peopled. He did so; and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner, for the better peopling of his dominions.

The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had induced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.§

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called the senate. They

* A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.

† A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

‡ A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 8.

§ A. M. 3924. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581

were unanimously agreed to accept that prince's offers with joy ; especially as so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost only a vain consent to an enterprise, which did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interest of his country ; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable means. Having directed the ambassadors of Mithridates to come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no just right to dispose ; but he would never consent that he should have any footing in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement ; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "what orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome, who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us if we undertake any thing against Asia ?" A treaty was however concluded and sworn between them to this effect : that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia ; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them ; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia, was a banished senator of Rome who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours ; for when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic, obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes which Sylla had imposed upon them ; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius that they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and polite a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles by which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.*

Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers ; he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned ; assembled one hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides one hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer as before, with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.†

* A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

† Plut. in Lucul. p. 496.

Mythridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exaction of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent with two armies against him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other, Bithynia and Propontis.*

While Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come, Cotta, who had already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it; but he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their entire complements; and in that by land he lost four thousand of his best troops, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and, without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him, and met with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided into ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began by seizing a post upon an eminence of the greatest importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.†

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour, Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged performed prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

* A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

† A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plot. in Lucul. p. 497.—499. Appian. p. 219. 222

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action which he always carefully avoided, he caused the army of Mithridates to suffer severely by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments which he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage; and some were compelled to subsist upon human flesh. Mithridates, who was esteemed the most artful captain of his times, in despair, that a general who could not have had so much experience, should so often deceive him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place.* He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land, to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took a great number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.†

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city; and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a rapid tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, returned to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet, beat them twice; first at Tenedos, and then at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself‡. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last, took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms toward the continent; first reduced Bithynia, then Paphlagonia, marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of the dominions of Mithridates.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Gallatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for only one drachm, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time, besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The

* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorū mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ jam fore putavisset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiarū regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. Cic. in Orat. p. o Mur. n. 33.

† Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornata, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam.—Cic. pro Lege Manil. n. 21.

‡ Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis tria milia spe atque animis inflata pederet, mediocri certamine et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris?—Id. pro Mur. na. n. 33.

latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates: this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodoon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of the army of Lucullus complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble; and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification, "that is exactly what I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose than that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army, as may embolden him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense solitudes, and infinite deserts, in which it will be impossible for us either to come up with or pursue him? Armenia is but a few days' march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a supplicant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us? Hence, in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why therefore should we serve Mithridates against ourselves, or show him to whom he should have recourse for the means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy of his valour and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take courage, and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only upon our hands the troops of Cholchis, the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than to expose ourselves to have the additional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend with?"

While the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. "He went into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he did many great actions without the general, the general none without him."* Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions; but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, dismounted and gave him his horse. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands; and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many oils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of her brother Absyrtus in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in

* *Asiam istam resertam et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritia, neque luxuria vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine imperatore.*—Cic. pro Murena, n. 20.

order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars: and while the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped from their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.*

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance than new life to them. In one of these castles, a sister of the king, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates, on his flight, having sent them orders to die, by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than her exquisite beauty. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion. He sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the splendour of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of a husband had given her a master, and instead of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and informed the princesses of the orders of Mithridates, which favoured them no farther, than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, "Ah! fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office." Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

Berenice took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly both drank. The half of it sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur quum prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua su parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, et eorum collectio disperda, mororque patris celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas etiam majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congererat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio moror, hos lætitia retardavit — Cic. de Leg. Manil. n. 22.

her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities which their enemies might otherwise have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly; and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burned to be rebuilt.* This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges as the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march toward the cities of Asia, which the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers held under the most dreadful oppression; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had augmented it to one hundred and twenty thousand talents; so that they still owed three times as much as they had already paid.

Tacitus had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition;† but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money among the Romans was paid every month, and was one per cent: hence it was called *usuria centesima, unciarum fœnus*; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve per cent. was paid; *uncia* is the twelfth part of a whole.

The law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve per cent.‡ This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.§

Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, *semunciarum fœnus*.||

At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree: *ne fœnerari liceret*.¶

All these decrees were ineffectual. Avarice was always too strong for the laws; and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them.**

* A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

† *Hanc vetus urbi fœnebre malum, et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 10*

‡ *Ne quis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*

§ Tacit. Annal. v. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. c. 16.

|| Liv. l. vii. c. 27.

¶ Ibid. c. 24.

** *Multis plebicitis obviam itam fraudibus; quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur.* Tacit. *Ibid*

It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECTION III.—LUCULLUS DECLARES WAR AGAINST TIGRANES. THE LATTER LOSES TWO BATTLES.

TIGRANES, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the "king of kings." After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and the continual praise of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.*

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador a higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterized his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained in a few words the subject of complaints which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in violating the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it, he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to the triumph of Lucullus: that he did not expect that he, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and, that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with the letter of Lucullus when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of "king of kings," of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad; at table, in his chamber, in short every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors, for at that time, to give strangers a great idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world; one more refined shocks less, though much the same in its nature.

* A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. — c. 43—57. Appian, in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five-and-twenty-years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature to admit of his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of *Imperator*, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to commence it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus and made them both free and independent cities. Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege of treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burned almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, on account of taking that place; but soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries which Cotta's avarice and cruelty had inflicted on them, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators; a slight punishment for the crying excesses proved upon him.*

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three hundred horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared to speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person who brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him that Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes at first had not designed so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law; but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. But after the embassy of Clodius, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they freed themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.†

Among those unfortunate persons was Metrodorus, of the city of Sceps, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much influence with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him, "what would you advise me to do in regard to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, with an

* *Memo. c. li.—lxi.*

† *A. M.* 3935 *Ant. J. C.* 69

ill-timed sincerity: "As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal pre-arrangement, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter; so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it was to be charged with a commission to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders for all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king: for this reason, Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in this conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry in cutting off provisions from Lucullus. Taxiles himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who, staying with him in his camp, earnestly entreated him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first, he hearkened patiently to this advice. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of losing his life for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, one hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who, drawn up in order of battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed Mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about one thousand archers and

slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped on the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion drew lots for the spoils; and of all the generals of Tigranes, and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a fine rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired; "If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning at sunrise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river toward the east; and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left toward the west, where it might be easily forded. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, toward the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxiles, said to him with a contemptuous laugh, "Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away." Taxiles replied, "I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away."

Taxiles was still speaking, when he saw the eagles of the first legions move on a sudden to the right-about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, "How! are those people coming to us? They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle, without great disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, it being one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called black days; for it was the same upon which the army of Cæpio* had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous; "I will make this a happy day for the Romans." It was the sixth of October, the day before the nones of October.

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly under his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword in his hand, to intimate to his troops that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows, and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, the summit of which was flat and level, and the declivity of not more than five hundred paces, not much broken nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Gallatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which, when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable

* The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cæpio.

While his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top he showed himself from the highest part of it; and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "the victory is ours, fellow soldiers, the victory is ours." At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse, sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not wait their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not commence until they began to fly, or rather to attempt to fly; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight at the commencement, with a few followers; and seeing his son, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could, by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat, more than one hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped. - On the side of the Romans, only five were killed and one hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition; for, by protracting and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small day's journeys, to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians on the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes: so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both applied themselves to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose at Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver. Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.*

If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken, or driven him out of the country, and the war must have been terminated. His having failed to do so was very much censured, both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.†

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and, at the same time, in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found among his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

LETTER OF MITHRIDATES TO ARSACES† KING OF THE PARTHIANS.

“All those who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider, whether peace be their own option; and next, whether what is demanded of them, is consistent with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war, and entirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes, or, powerful as you are, that you should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For, as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept without difficulty whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, I can say, that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsels; and, which is much to be desired of persons in prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself, it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands; the unbounded

* Strab. l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539.

† Dion. Cas. l. xxxv. p. 1.

‡ Arsaces was a name common to all the kings of Parthia.

ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches. * Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after the other, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He then proceeds, "Examine now, I beseech you, when we are finally ruined, whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country? I know that you are powerful in men, in arms, and treasure; it is therefore we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Tigranes, to avoid drawing the war into his country, that I shall march with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean on the west, turned their arms this way? That to look back to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have from violence; home, wives, lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, without forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They hold all enemies that are not their slaves; and especially, whatever bears the name of king: for few nations affect a free and independent government; the generality prefer just and equitable masters. They suspect us, because we are said to emulate their power, and may in time avenge their oppressions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful kingdoms, what can you expect from them, but deceit at present, and war hereafter? The Romans are at war with all nations; but especially with those from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great by enterprises and deceit, and making one war lead to another. By this means they will either destroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you on the side of Mesopotamia, and we on that of Armenia, surround their army, without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been so prudent as to understand this common enemy, and to unite ourselves against him. It will be for your immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have conquered and destroyed those robbers of the world. This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; that you may choose rather to share with us by a salutary alliance, in conquering the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend itself universally by our ruin."†

* Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere deinde quod queritur, satiusne pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetua pace frui liceret, nisi hostes opportuni et scelestissimi. Egregia fama, si Romanos oppreres, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, et frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis miscere sperem. Atque ea, quae te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, et mea res parum prosperae, si vera aestimare volēs, maxime hortabuntur. Ille enim, obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet; mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, usum dedisse bene suadendi, et quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus praebeo exemplum quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, legibus cunctis, una et ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii et divitiarum.

† Nunc, queso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrum, firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putēs? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, et auri esse, et ea re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad praedam peteris. Ceterum consilium est Tigranem, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere; quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tu possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam a principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium. Convenas, olim sine patria, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum; quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, socios, amicos, procul iuxtaque sitos, inopes, potentesque trahant, excidentque; omniaque non serva, et maxime regna, hostilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna iustos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, et in tempore vindicæ affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in praesens, et postea bellum expectas? Romani tu omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus spolia maxima sunt. Audendo et fallendo, et bella ex bellis ferendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia aut occidunt: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamia, nos Armenia circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie nostra unum imperium probare, quam societate victor fieri.

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates which Mithridates might have hoped from it; so that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name; he sent orders to him to join him with all the troops in that country.* Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.†

The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before he took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus from attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagem he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children, and almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design, and by four great marches, having got before him, posted himself behind the river Arsamia or Arsania, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst; for, not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first who fled, which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage, and was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.‡

Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war; but as that city was still several day's journey from thence toward the north, and winter approached with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers, already fatigued by a very arduous campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them.§ He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed Mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops in winter quarters.||

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero, his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kinds of vices, and infamous for his debaucheries, which he carried so far as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions; in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons born to disturb and ruin every

* Appian in Syr. p. 118, 119.

† Justin, l. xl. c. 2.

‡ A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515.

§ Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno cepit, et præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nix et loci iniquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.—Cic. pro Lege Man. n. 23.

|| Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking of. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, while their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves with Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness, to the mournful condition in which they saw him: for the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion; and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings.* Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever in a condition to make head against the Romans. So that, not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops, so often victorious, beat a body of them commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the rout, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other lieutenants of Lucullus in that country, with great vigour.†

Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed seven thousand men; among whom were one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained in a great while.‡ The army would have been entirely defeated, but for a wound which Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, but did not give orders for their interment, which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as a general, they looked upon him no longer but with insolence and contempt: and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him contemptuously, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself only out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.§

SECTION IV.—MITHRIDATES RECOVERS ALL HIS DOMINIONS. POMPEY OVERTHROWS HIM IN SEVERAL BATTLES.

MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, and C. PISO, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded.

* Mithridates et suam manum jam confirmaverat, et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerent, et magna adventitiis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno; quod regale iis nomen magnum ex sanctum esse videatur.—Cic. pro Lege Manil. n. 24.

† Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.—Cic. pro Lege Man. n. 25.

‡ Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculii, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret.—Cic. pro Lege Man. n. 25.

§ A. M. 3337. Ant. J. C. 67

The senate at the same time disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age, and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But, the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access, rough in commanding, carried exactitude in point of duty to an excess that made it odious, was inexorable in punishing offences, and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was, their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.*

In consequence of the letters which Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio added still more to their licentiousness. He informed them that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade them paying him any farther obedience, so that he found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers.† Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

While the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. Pompey had returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea, with the same conditions and prerogatives as had been granted him in the war against the pirates: that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the sea." This was in effect subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man: for all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the Higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings Mithridates and Tigranes.‡

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and the senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved; but what gave them most pain, and they could not

* Dion. Cass. l. xxv. p. 7.

† In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis moderari fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitate modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, quæ jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabriori tradidit.—Cæsar, de Bello Civil. l. 3. c. 26.

‡ A. M. 3932. A. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. Appian. p. 233. Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 20

support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other, in a particular manner, to oppose that decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their power. It was upon this occasion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, entitled, "For the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated, in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shows that Pompey possesses them all in a superior degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: "virtues, by so much the more necessary," says he, "as the Roman name is become infamous and hateful among foreign nations, and our allies, in consequence of the debauchery, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send among them.* Instead of which, the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey, will make him be regarded, not only as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it is not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others."†

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people: wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all that Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views to the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than that of the senate: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in reaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by means of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with showing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics, in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. Consequently it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one and sometimes for the other.‡

Pompey, who had already terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters informing him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends who were present congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said that he knit his brows, struck his thighs, and cried, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command, "Gods, what endless la-

* Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio sumus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum quos ad eas hæc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines.—Cic. pro Lege. Manil. n. 1.

† Itaque cinnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum sed de cælo delapsum, intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstantia quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile ac falso memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis navesse.—Cic. pro Lege Manil. n. 31

‡ Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

ours am I devoted to? Would I not have been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live in peace in the country with my wife and children?"*

This is generally the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But, however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others, and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time; for there was not one of them who did not know that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him: and his actions soon shook off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government was to forbid any obedience whatever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties which Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partizans of Lucullus see that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him further as his great services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from the view of the public good, effected a universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.†

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly no one ever carried that conduct to such an excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and friendship; but these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which cost the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms. Pompey upbraided Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus reproached Pompey with ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus; but not without being long contested.

It was he who first brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called *cerasus*, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.‡

Pompey began by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed the god. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince believing himself sure of the

* A. M. 392º Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 24--66. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22--25. Appian p. 239.

† Strab. l. xii. p.

‡ Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him : but Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in the army of Mithridates. As there were many deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey ; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army ; and to swear, that he would not make peace with the Romans either on those, or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse, but did not dare, however, to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced : but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there were numerous springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug ; and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after, he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were nearly eight leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either out of fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him, in consequence, to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night, with all the best troops of his army having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him ; and apprehending that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night, in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at daybreak the next morning : but all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day ; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the Roman army, and went off : but those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, among whom was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness ; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates, by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine.* She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the hat it of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

* *Ultra feminam ferrox.* — Tacit.

That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent his ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son.* He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising a hundred talents to any person who should seize or kill him, under pretence that it was Mithridates who made his son take up arms against him, but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we soon shall see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army for carrying on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes, the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates; but on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hopes of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming: for as he was to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. He said that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide: that in whatever manner he might decide his fate, he should be satisfied: that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer: and that it was no dishonour to submit to him whom fortune had made superior to all others.†

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot, telling him that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it to the lictors; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself on the earth to embrace his knees; but Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand led him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He then deferred hearing what he had to say till the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not showed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause,

* Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

† *Mox ipse supplex et præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cujus se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cæsar Pompeianus. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Nec esset turpe ab eo vinci quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei inhoneste aliquem submitti quem fortuna suam omnes extulisset.*—Vel. Patere l. ii c. 37.

and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed that he should reign in his ancient kingdom, Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sums which Pompey required of him.

The father was well pleased with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put in prison. Afterwards, having discovered that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him among those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law, and to represent to him that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required, but without being prescribed in them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty drachmas, a thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it, abject behaviour, and submissions, unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northward in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the Cyrus* he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situated between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.†

The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæstors, for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again; while he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.‡

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him; but Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that he thrust him through the body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to purchase a second peace on the same terms as those he had entered into the

* Called Cyrus also, by some authors.

† Plut in Pomp. p. 637. Dion. Cass. lxxv. p. 23—33. Appian. p. 212, 215.

‡ A. M. 4939. Ant. J. C. 65.

year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as a hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north eastern part of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring, he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of whom suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of the empire of Mithridates. He had given it as an appendage to one of his sons named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, while they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die, than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlosyria and Damascus, and Gabinus all the rest of the country, as far as the Tigris; they were his lieutenant generals. Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who, by permission of Lucullus, had reigned four years in that part of the country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province.* Thus, while Armenia was left in possession of Tigranes, who had done the Romans great injury during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince who had neither courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.†

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing Book.

Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judea. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.‡

A very interesting scene between the love of a father and the duty of a son was presented at this time; a very extraordinary occurrence in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem upon his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced in. It was the sole occasion in which

* Appian in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

† F. d. in Pomp. p. 632, 639.

‡ A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority.* This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.†

As Mithridates was in possession of several small places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He therefore made himself master of almost all of them upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of the wives of Mithridates, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, with the treasures concealed in it, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, demanding only for recompense, that if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her readiness in surrendering that fortress which he considered as a treasure, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Among other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a clear idea of his character. In one part he had noted down the persons whom he had poisoned, among whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter because he had carried the prize in the chariot race against him. What fantastical records were these? Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language; for among the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.‡

Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates into the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing; so that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He expected by that means to be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.§

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red Sea. In Spain, and before that, in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to carry them as far as the Red Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march toward Damascus; from whence he designed to have proceeded against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all

* Nec diu finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisse.
 † Val. Max. l. v. c. 7. ‡ Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

§ A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. §. 5. 6 Plut. in Pomp. † 639—641. Dion. Cass. l. cxviii. p. 34—36. App. p. 246—251

the countries to the Red Sea ; but an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates would not consent to such meanness, but proposed sending his children and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. "There, through the just punishment of the gods," says Plutarch, "his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, that, during the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act till a war be finally terminated, and now fell into the same inconsistency himself ; for he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince, inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised."

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war ; to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who, by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece, in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge among them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to his son, in recompense for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march toward Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia ; but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him, and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps, to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him : a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves into his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always

credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence; that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off, by his aid, the yoke under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as, to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po; the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march threw his army into such a terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son, king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says he was killed by his own son.

Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy-two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape in that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes to such a degree, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error; and that it is impossible any remedy should be a universal antidote against all the different species of poison.*

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of the death of Mithridates. It was brought him by expresses despatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby terminated that tedious war, which had endured so long. This gave both the army and general great cause to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says a historian, of whom it was difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; and sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal, in his hatred of the Romans.†

Cicero says of Mithridates, that, after Alexander, he was the greatest of kings "Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus."‡ It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great

* A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 63.

† Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus, virtute eximius; aliquando fortuosa, semper animo, maximus: consilii dux, miles manu; odio in Romanos Annibal.—Vel. Patere. l. 2. c. 18.

‡ Academ. Quest. iv. n. 3.

qualities; a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, which the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which after the greatest losses, brought him again unexpectedly on the stage, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe that he was a consummate general; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first, but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

Pompey having arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.*

The troubles of Judea employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He added great presents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he paid it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of the most valuable effects and jewels of Mithridates were kept: his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Among those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold, with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that the quæstor, or treasurer of the army, occupied thirty days in taking an inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus as a reward for his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas, and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents, besides which, he had twenty thousand more, to put into the treasury at Rome upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot: among whom were Aristobulus, king of Judea, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of the person of that king, his throne, sceptre, and gold bust, of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.†

* A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 4. 3. et de Bell. Jud. l. 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 841
Appian. p. 260. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 35 et 36.

† A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 61.



BOOK TWENTY-THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

PLAN.

THIS book contains the history of thirty-five years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Auletes to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

SECTION I.

PTOLEMY AULETES HAD BEEN PLACED UPON THE THRONE OF EGYPT IN THE ROOM OF ALEXANDER.

WE have seen in what manner Ptolemy Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to show that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.*

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it had been a very insecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim, unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means of his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But, the more important that qualification was to him, so much the greater was the difficulty for him to obtain it. The will of his predecessor was still fresh in the memory of every one, and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more injurious, the surname of "Player on the Flute," which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as he had been, before, in that of the Egyptians.

He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just which conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the consent of the people, nearly six thousand talents, at which price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.†

* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

† Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient appendage of Egypt; and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than she.*

Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was on his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica was also arrived there some time before. That prince being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know of his arrival, expecting that he would come immediately to visit him. We may see here an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprised, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandes, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.†

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, from what motives may readily be conjectured, dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had sufficient time to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city, reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate like a private person.

Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome; he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had formerly cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judea. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's factions obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.‡

But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify the revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than one hundred persons, of whom the chief was a

* A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58.

† Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10.

‡ Plut. in Cato, Utic. p. 776. Cic. ad Famil. l. i. ep. 1—4. Id. in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

celebrated philosopher named Dion, who had many influential friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and so much intimidated those whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible; and his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest and self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.*

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some short time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that nothing farther at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active enterprising young man, who was not wanting in eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people, with singular pleasure and extraordinary applause.

In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he proposed to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported, "If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity; but you shall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."†

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office as tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired: so that Lentulus, whose consulship had expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, as to have any faith in such an oracle. No one doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess; and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

* A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 57.

† A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 55.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at home, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanding, by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he rightly judged, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force, a person of great authority; and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great animation by the different parties that rose up in it. The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination.* Cicero never abandoned the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition in which things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went, however, with a good army to besiege Alexandria? After he had taken it, he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception, without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus. "You are the best judge," says he, "as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is without doubt both for your own and the honour of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place, in order that, after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl."† Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, "that all the world would judge of his conduct from the event: that therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."‡

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatever, even upon the nearest border, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, who had been expelled from Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately

* Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

† Ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initio senatus cenavit; et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines, religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

‡ Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicaturos, videmus. Nos quidem hoc sentimus: si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regno potiri, non esse cunctandum: sin dubium, non esse conandum.

been declared consul for the ensuing year. In these letters he conjured Gabinius to do his utmost in favour of the proposals which that prince should make to him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was moreover inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him, for himself and the army, ten thousand talents, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.*

Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selene's side, was the nearest male heir. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned; they brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to sieze that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she soon after caused him to be strangled. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in fact, only the son of that prince's chief general.†

Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains, covered with sands of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so parched, that there was not any water to be found within the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of his army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.‡

The enemy derived considerable advantage from the desire of glory which stimulated Antony; for Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than, out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that such an act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the abilities of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, and consequently, the most proper time for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work, at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were in fact, soon put to the rout. Archelaus

* A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120. et in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

† Strab. l. xii. p. 533. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion. l. xxxix. p. 115—117. Cic. in Pison. c. 49, 50.

‡ Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired among the Romans who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. These troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and indulged in the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring; but some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country, cats being ranked among their deities.*

Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues; by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form, as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use; for having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, for having shared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom it was alleged that he had connived. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.†

Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment.‡ He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young, for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age, he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.§

SECTION II.—CLEOPATRA EXPELLED THE THRONE; BUT IS AFTERWARDS, WITH HER YOUNGER BROTHER, RE-ESTABLISHED. POMPEY ASSASSINATED.

LITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of

* Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

† A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. x. v.

‡ Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

§ Eutrop. l. v.

Achillas, the general of his army. Those two ministers, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.*

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his influence he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra, at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make; Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of the three unworthy persons who governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, that if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive their having assisted his enemy; if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal, and therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any harm; for, said he, according to the proverb, "dead men do not bite."

This advice prevailed, being, in their opinion, the wisest and most safe. Septimus, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it in execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the seaside, with the pretence of doing honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey, in the name of his master, and bade him to come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, "Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freedmen gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman who chanced to be there. They raised him a wretched funeral pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck that had been driven ashore.

Cornelia saw Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea. This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

* A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731. Appian. de Bell. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Diod. l. xlii. p. 200—206.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he took very few troops with him; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory which it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. As for his own person,* confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him, then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of this victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some citizens who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and many murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always due north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Pompey and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted it with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden vessels, insinuating that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which were plausible, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him, for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbitrator by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, whose whole authority then vested in his person, in quality

* Cæsar confusus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat: atque omnem risum tutum fore existimabat.—Cæs.

of consul ; that as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them ; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived those she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded permission to appear in person. Plutarch says it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess taking no one with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus, the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark, at night. Finding that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary ; and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar must have infallibly been overpowered and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to show himself to them from a part of the palace, so high that he had nothing to fear upon it ; from hence he assured them that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will ; and that Ptolemy, the younger son, and Arsinoë, the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to please the people ; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians' fury ; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making that concession.

All persons, except Pothinus, were satisfied and charmed with this decree. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long subsist ; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw that the people acceded to his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army threw all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had twenty

thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.*

When they saw that they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched toward the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and thereby prevent him from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he must have been entirely ruined. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the quay, that the flames extended to the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes, was consumed. What a loss was this to literature.

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, among others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time: the other, which marched by land, did not go thither at all, because the war was terminated before it could arrive. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia, for he brought him the troops which extricated him from danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

While he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who acted in concert with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted; and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoë, the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians, who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused of having given up to Cæsar the fleet which had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to himself. He also took upon him the administration of all other affairs, and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the duties of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often accounted little or no qualification; he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war: he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means; for there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept.† Every year, upon the great rise of the Nile, the water of that river was let in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it became clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drink of this wa-

* A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47.

† There are to this day exact'y the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as formerly. -Thereno's Travels.

ter ; but the poorer sort of the people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome ; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all communicated with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar to be stopped up ; and then found means to turn the seawater into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, greatly to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to remedy the want of that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice that the legion which Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria ; and, if the night had not come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouth of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses nearest to the port, to be spectators of the fight, and awaited the success with fear and trembling, lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the assistance of the gods. The safety of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left, if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But, after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat ; for the ship in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. While he was in the sea, he swam with one hand and held the other above the water, in which were papers of consequence, so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him ; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions ; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and knew that if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity ; to redress the evils with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions ; to show himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty ; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered to his father. Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him than to reign over others.* The sequel soon explained how

* *Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne a gentis sue moribus degeneraret, fletu orare contra Cæsarem cepit, ut se demitteret ; non enim regnum ipsam sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius.*—Hierode Bell. Alex.

much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned another fight at sea, near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia, to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much toward it. He had not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several princes of Arabia and Cœlosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city; for he was the first who mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.*

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, all the passes of which were seized by the Jews who inhabited it. The army was there put to a stand, and their sole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his influence, and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both, all the provisions his army required. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. The wing under the command of Mithridates was soon broken and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle was renewed, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained, to escape by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them came directly to a decisive battle, in which he gained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt, submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January, and, not finding any farther opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in fact giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsario, whom Augustus caused to be put to death, when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required: for, though every thing was settled in Egypt by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he staid there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared

after his death, that he had prepared a harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.*

He carried Arsinoë, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity, he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence; or rather it was there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death, at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed, and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree confirming them.

What at length induced him to quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near Zela, a city of Cappadocia, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, "Veni, vidi, vici;" that is to say, "I came, I saw, I conquered."†

SECTION III.—CLEOPATRA REIGNS ALONE DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR. TRAGICAL END OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority all power was in her hands. When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.‡

In this interval, Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius, and the triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

Cleopatra declared herself, without hesitation, for the triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the consul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of the armies of Pompey and Crassus, and a part of the troops which Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out.§

Cassius made himself master of these four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed sometime after with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.||

Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the east, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was dependent on the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue which he might perhaps still retain.¶

* Sueton. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

† Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

‡ A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226.

§ Appian. l. 3. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

| A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

¶ A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. v. 926, 927. Dioc. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. v. l. v. p. 671.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Antony ; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world ; whereas she was going to appear before Antony at an age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments ; and with still higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way, she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey ; but she only laughed at their solicitations, and made no more haste on that account. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus ; and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, some of whom represented the Nereids, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, breathing the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burned on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance on the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, all the people of Tarsus went out to meet her ; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with great art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem to be day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself outdone, as well in the splendour as the disposition of the feast, and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own in comparison with the sumptuousness and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin ; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gayety had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart as are not easily conceived. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She made so deep an impression on Antony with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendancy over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time that he caused to be put to death her sister Arsinoë, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a secure asylum.

Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, in a feast which

she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She presented them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver which had been used at the entertainment.*

It must have been at one of these feasts that the circumstance related by Pliny, and after him by Macrobius, occurred. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Antony's table, as being very indifferently served, and inelegant. Touched with the railery, he asked her, with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she would expend more than two hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars.† He affirmed that she only boasted; that it was impossible; and that she could never make it appear. The wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expense, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of railery, as secure of victory, told her that they were still far from that amount. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning, I shall try whether I cannot expend it upon myself. A second table was then brought,‡ and, according to the order she had before given nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about two hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar,§ and after having dissolved it, she swallowed it. She was preparing to do the like with the other.|| Plancus prevented her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong to deprive the queen of the singular and peculiar glory of having squandered such an immense sum in two cups.

Antony was embroiled with Cæsar.¶ While his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expenses; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, had the curiosity, on account of the great noise those feasts made, to assure himself with his own eyes respecting them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, among other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all: but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. "For," added he, "it often happens that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after

* Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

† Centies H. S. Hoc est centies centena millies sestertium

‡ The ancients changed their tables at every course.

§ "Vinegar is capable of dissolving the hardest things." "Aceti succus domitor rerum," as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian, (Clodius the son of Æsopus,) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls dissolved in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ.

Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto

Diluit insignem baccam.—

Hor. l. ii. Sat. 2.

|| This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Pome, on his return from Alexandria: and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

¶ A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40.

forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason, not one, but many suppers are provided; because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat.*

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day nor night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party; and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a large fish attached to it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had happened, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they had all got into the fishing boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast to his hook one of those large salt fish that were brought from the kingdom of Pontus. When Antony perceived his line heavy, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, "Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus; your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

While Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married: a woman of extraordinary merit, who had lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.†

This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burned some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony greatly contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes.‡ She did not collect books merely for ornament; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. She also knew several other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarcely been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgotten the Macedonian, their natural tongue.§

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judea and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans; and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid to this foreign princess.

* Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

† A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

‡ A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Epihan. de mens. et por.

§ Plut. in Anton. p. 927

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

It was in one of these expeditions that the temple of Anatis, a goddess much celebrated among a certain people of Armenia, was plundered. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus at his house, and to entertain him at supper. "Is it true," said that prince at table, talking of this story, "that the man who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?" "If it were," replied the veteran with a smile, "I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead; for if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper."*

Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra; and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She at length arrived with clothes, and great sums of money, for his troops.†

Octavia had, at the same time, quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions, to win her husband, she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to die for love of Antony; and, with that view, made herself lean and wan by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was on the point of undertaking some new expedition. He was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians, at the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing a high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reason for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is

* Plut. c. xxx. c. 23.

† A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C. 35. Plut. in Anton. p. 24. c. 2.

there between Octavia and Cleopatra ! In the midst of resentment and affronts how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence !

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By force of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented him in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was : and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that, for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the war with the Medes to the following spring.

It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.*

After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.†

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimitar, after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones : he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand ; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat at his right hand, in a shining robe, made of the precious linen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cælosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes Kings of Kings, and declared, that till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave to Alexander the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it : and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regimen of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes ; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian

* A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34.

† Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab elrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit ; et promissu Antonius. — Flor. Liv. c. 11.

expedition. He immediately sent Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party, which occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known, but that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much toward it on her side; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, who composed the greatest part of his maritime forces. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: she, who had governed a kingdom so long, might have learned, in her intercourse with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed the time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train, exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expenses, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him; for which reason he never touched any dish at these banquets, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gayety, Cleopatra proposed drinking of these flowers to Antony. He made no hesitation in it; and after having plucked off the ends of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen taking hold of his arm, said to him—"I am the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action." Having ordered a prisoner condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor; upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem which Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But with all her influence, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

The new consuls, Caius Socius, and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interest, or contrary to those of Antony.*

When Antony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party and the result of their deliberation was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously, without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness prevailed, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and leave no one in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with tears; and as unjust as the orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment; and that she would greatly regret, if she were the cause of a new war; she, who had consented to her marriage with Antony, solely with the hope that it would prove a bond of union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such a degree as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by Titus and Plancus, persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of enduring the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care, alleging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it only by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsar, the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of King of Kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a contrivance of Cæsar's, to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people for that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra. It was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him: for, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure

having several decks, one above another, with towers upon the head and stern, of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people, void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do service.

On board the fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person: and those of Pontus, Judea, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen than this fleet, when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, which glittered with gold; the sails were of purple; flags and streamers floated in the wind; while trumpets, and other instruments of martial music, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her closely in a galley almost as splendid. That queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and impelled by her unbridled ambition, vainly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.*

On the other side, less pomp and splendour was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and eighty thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring arrived.

Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, commenced the war both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, but to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of choice troops, and much superior in number to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, however numerous it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion therefore prevailed against the advice of all the generals.†

The battle was fought upon the second of September,‡ at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one, drawn up in order of battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of the strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and

* ——— Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Fusus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato dum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci

Ebria——

Hor. Od. 37. l. i.

While drunk with fortune's heady wine,
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,
So much her vain ambition charms,
With her polluted band of supple slaves,
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
The Capitol in dust to level low,
And give Rome's empire and the world, a last and fatal blow.

A. M. 3973 Ant. J. C. 31.

† The fourth before the nones of September.

seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, drawing after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line, and sailed with them for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar which till then had been very bravely contested. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear: for Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day, Cæsar, seeing the victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron, despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far behind, soon returned to join the rest of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral's galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting with profound melancholy upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He remained in that posture, and buried in thought, during the three days they were going to Tænarus,* without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and twenty-two thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant general, and might have made a stand, and given Cæsar much difficulty; but seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus, Cleopatra took the route to Alexandria, and Antony that to Libya, where he had left a considerable army, to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing, he was informed that Scarpus, who commanded that army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no reason to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she had arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, that if her misfortune were made known, she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she had returned victorious, and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

Soon after, she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad, and afterwards, to put all her treasures on board those ships and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians who inhabited that coast, having burned all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.†

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was the disposition of Cleopatra. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love; and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his, but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable an-

* A promontory of Laconia

† A. M. 3974. Ant. J. C. 39

swer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures ; her person to adorn his triumph ; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted on account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement it might have been expected that he would hear with pleasure the discourses of those wise philosophers. But, as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person, provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

The second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with greatest torment, and that those which were gentle, brought on an easy but slow death ; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions ; and which, throwing the person into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life, so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birthday with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever displayed before ; so that many of the guests who came to that feast poor, went away rich.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave the victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! The most odious of vices were united in her person ; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person whom she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, distinguished as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried ; gold,

silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending that her despair would induce her to burn them, despatched every day some person to her to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment but at the same time, advanced toward the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hope of soon making himself master of the city, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of the intrigues of that princess, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made vigorous sally ; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warily pursued, to the very gates of their camp, a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour ; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised ; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view ; which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack ; but was much astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrendered his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity, he was for signaling himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and the gates of which she had ordered to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestor's tombs, where she had also chosen her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities ; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast ; but the slave, full of affection, respect and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to

the fort where she had caused herself to be shut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at a high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death depicted in his face, was drawn up, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands toward Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; while she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore off her clothes, beat her breast violently, and, after wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. While she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy, as he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had, however, a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through crevices. They talked a considerable time together; during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; while he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interest to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to speak again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him, through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while, Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and, followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, "O, unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!" Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle; but Proculeius ran quickly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, "You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing his goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt on herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire. He likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to signify how much the regard he had for

nim. Having arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them, for three reasons; the first upon the account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; the third, for the sake of Ariæus, one of their citizens whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queer who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the east, and placed it among the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning; but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission, being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which she derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through the depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it; "see also," said she, kissing them, "the dear testimonies of his love." She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving acclamations, and passionate glances; but she employed these arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation, contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and which he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in fact she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows on the face. Then turning toward Cæsar, "Is it not a horrible thing," said she to him, "that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am in, my own domestics should accuse me before you, of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess?"

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved; and after having assured

ner that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, but was deceived himself.

Not doubting that Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and, under pretence of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better, therefore, to amuse him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and lamentations, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to a table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber, except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down, as if she had fallen asleep; but that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed among the fruit, and had stung her in the arm which she held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there was so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had written to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly despatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with firmness and indifference the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.† She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two, from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, but those of Cleopatra remained as they were, Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar one thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced to a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the

*Aura et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum
Deliberata morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,
Privata deduci superbo,
Non humilis mulier triumpho.* Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 2.

Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;
Calmly she looks from her superior wo,
That can both death and fear control;
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins,
Lividious to the victor's fancied pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive by his side,
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end

Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred and ninety-three years, from the year of the world 3631 to 3974.

CONCLUSION OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

We have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruin of each other, continue during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. We may here behold a picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that is splendid or admirable in human greatness! Every excellence is here presented, sublimity of genius, delicacy of taste, accompanied by solidity of judgment; the noblest efforts of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from nature and truth; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love of country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much do they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But while we are in admiration and ecstasy at the view of so many splendid virtues, the Supreme Judge, who alone can estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifles, meanness, vanity, and pride; and while mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him: "He seeth from everlasting to everlasting."* He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue which Nabuchodonosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible countenance, with the head of gold, the breasts and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them ~~we have seen~~ in the course of this history, all that is glorious grand, formidable and powerful. And what means does the Almighty use for overthrowing this immense Colossus? "A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer thrashing floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."†

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel at least in part. Jesus Christ who descended to clothe himself with

* Eccles. xxxix. 16

† Dan. ii. 34, 35.

flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility ; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, however effulgent, and from the sight of the devil himself, penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, Jesus Christ will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us : "He went forth conquering and to conquer."* His work and mission are, "to set up a kingdom for his Father, which shall never be destroyed ; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people ;" like those which we have seen in this history ; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms ; and it shall stand for ever."

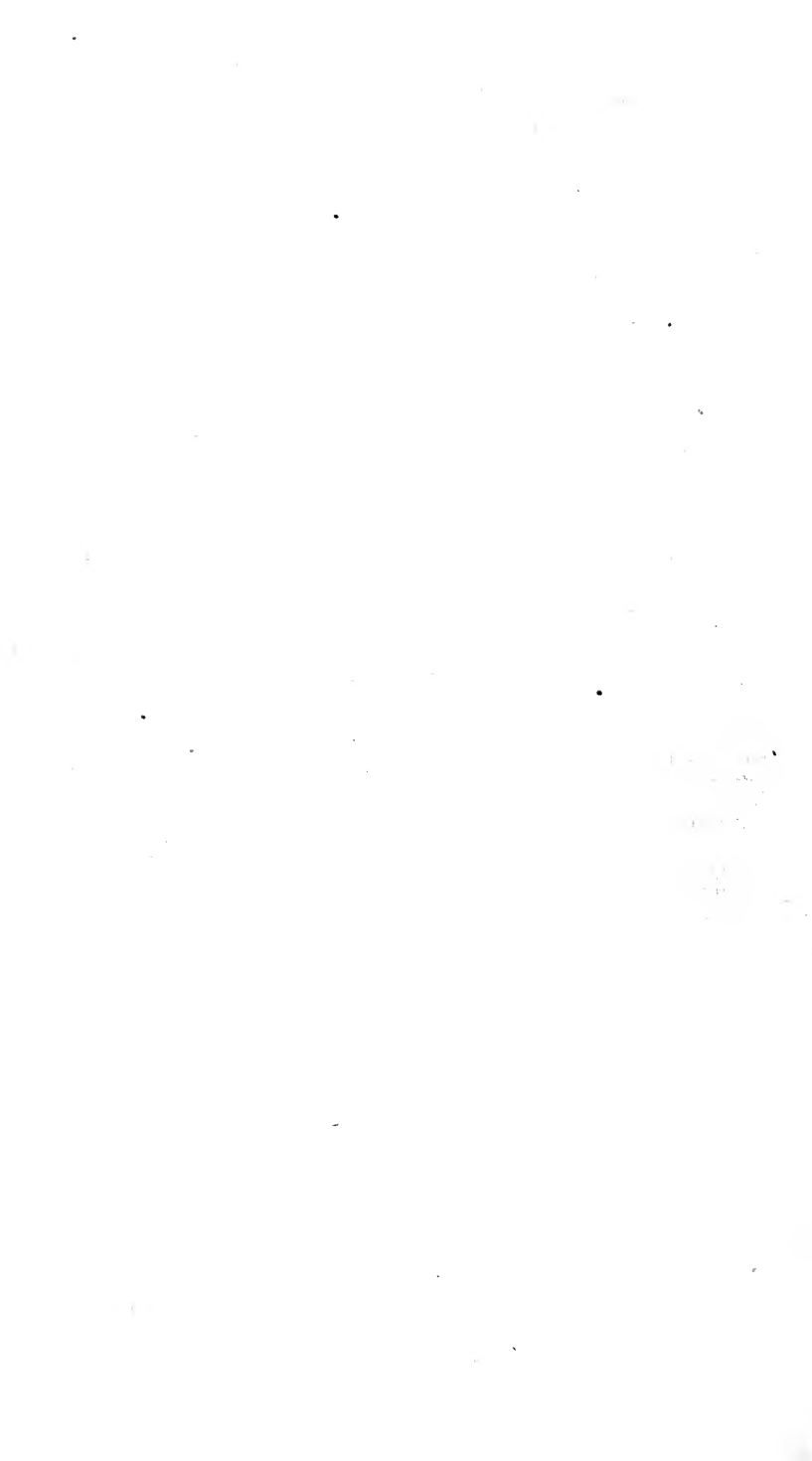
The power granted to Jesus Christ, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their power, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of Jesus Christ. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry, and come to nothing even during their own lives. But with Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. "All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth."† He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates directly or indirectly to the accomplishment of his designs.

While all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth ; while states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it ; there passes, in secret, an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments, and tends daily toward perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect ; "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.‡

* Apoc. vi. 2.

† Matth. xxvi. 18.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 24.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of the just computation of time. It shows to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year; for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains three hundred and sixty-five days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes.

The lunar year is composed of twelve lunar months, each of which consists of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes, that make in all, three hundred and fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called astronomical, to distinguish them from that in common use, which is termed civil or political.

Though nations may not agree with one another in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motions, and others by the moon's; they however generally use the solar year in chronology. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed, that the nations who used lunar years, added a certain number of the intercalary days to make them agree with the solar; which reconciles them with each other, or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact happened.

In chronology there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. These are called epochs,* from a Greek word, which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs is arbitrary; and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years are called eras. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal and most used are those of the world, of Jesus Christ, of the Olympiads, and of Rome. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the chronological table at the end of my history; but the narrow compass of

these pages obliges me to confine myself to the two most famous; that is to say, that of the world, and that of Jesus Christ.

Every body knows that the Olympiads derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By Olympiad is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228, before Christ 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the Olympiads, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an Olympiad; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this epoch are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The Julian period is also a famous era in chronology, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use; but first I must give the reader an idea of the three cycles, of which it is composed.

By the word cycle, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The solar cycle is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit; that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years, the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap year, that produces all the variations included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar cycle consists.

The lunar cycle, called also the golden number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the cycle to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two cycles, chronologers admit of a third also, called indiction. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the first indiction, the second the second indiction, and so on to the fifteenth; after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19, and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the Julian period.

One of the properties of this period is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar era commences at the year 4714 of the Julian period. If that number be divided by 28, what remains* after the

* I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of cycles elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division, shows the year of the current cycle.

division shows the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three cycles cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the Julian period. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other ~~eras~~.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles of which it is composed began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only 4004 years.

This period is also called Julian, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Caesar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are some who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before Jesus Christ. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used; for every body agrees in respect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not know, that the first year or the vulgar era, falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the Julian period that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar era of the world; for as the beginning of the Julian period precedes that era 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era of the world, we have the year of the Julian period that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the Julian period to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my chronological table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view: but besides my not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the tables, and in consequence swelled the volume, that, as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of these two people are abundantly interwoven with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows, that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide on this subject.

THE TABLE

A. M.	A. C.	Assyrians.
1900	2204	Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians. Ninus, son of Nimrod. Semiramis She reigned forty-two years. Ninyas. <i>The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.</i>
		Egypt.
1	2188	Menes, or Mesrami, first king of Egypt. Busiris. Csymandras. Ochoreus. Meeris.

A.M.	A.C.	Egypt.	Greece.
1915	2089		Foundation of the kingdom of Sicily.
1920	2084	The King-shepherds seize Lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	
2084	1320	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the King-shepherds.	
2148	1856		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Cygges in Attica.
2179	1825	Thetmosis expels the King-shepherds, and reigns in Lower Egypt.	
2276	1728	Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold to Potiphar.	
2298	1706	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He institutes the Areopagus. Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.
2427	1577	Ramesses-Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.	
2448	1556	Cecrops carries a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	
2488	1516		
2494	1510	Amenophis, the eldest son of Ra aesses, succeeds him.	
2513	1491	The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red-sea; Sesostris, his son, succeeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself, after a reign of 33 years.	
2530	1474		
2547	1457	Pheron succeeds Sesostris.	
2628	1376		
2710	1274		
2720	1284		
2800	1204	Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. Rhampsinith.—Cheops.—Chephrem.—Mycerinus.—Asychis. The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration; but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.	
2820	1184		
2900	1104		
2934	1070		
2949	1055		
2991	1013	Pharaoh, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon.	
3026	978	Sesac, otherwise called Sesonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge.	
3033	971	Sesac marches against Jerusalem, and conquers Judæa.	
3063	941	Zara, king of Egypt, makes war with Asa, king of Judah.	
		Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himself master of Egypt, reigns there fifty years; after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anysis.	
3120	684		
3160	844		
3210	794		
3228	776		
			Lycurgus. Homer. Hesiod lived about the same time. Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia. Beginning of the common era of the Olympiads.

A. M. A. C.		Assyrians.					
		<i>I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninias down to this time, nothing is known of their history.</i>					
3233	771	Phul, the king of Nineveh, who repeated upon Jonah's preaching.					
3237	767	Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns himself in his palace.					
		The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed; that of the Assyrians of Babylon; that of the Assyrians of Nineveh; and that of the Medes.					
		Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
3257	747			Belesis, or Nabonassar.	Tiglath-Pileasar. The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, and makes himself master of Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah.	Arbaces exercises sovereignty over the Medes, without taking upon him the title of king.	
3261	743		First war between the Messenians & Lacedæmonians. It continues 20 years.	The Scripture calls him Baladan.			The Heraclidæ possess the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the first king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2761. The history of his successors is little known before Candaules.
3268	736			Merodach Baladan. He sent ambassadors to Hezekiah to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health. Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Babylon.			Candaules.
3269	735				Salamannasar. In the 8th year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity.		
3280	724		Archilochus the famous poet.		Sennacherib. In the 5th year of his reign he makes war against Hezekiah king of Judah.		
3285	719	Sethon. He reigned fourteen years.			An angel destroys his army at the time he is besieging Jerusalem.		
3286	718				On his return to his kingdom he is killed by his two sons.		Gyges. He puts Candaules to death, and reigns in his stead.
3287	717				Asarhaddon.		
3295	709		Archias, the Corinthian, founds Syracuse.			Dejoces causes himself to be declared king of the Medes.	
3294	710						
3296	703						
3298	706	Tharaca reigns eighteen years.					
		Anarchy two years in Egypt.					
3319	685	Twelve of the principal lords of Egypt seize the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority.					
3320	684		Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians fourteen years.		Asarhaddon unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.		Death of Gyges.
3323	681						Ardys his son succeeds him.
3324	680						In his reign of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.
3327	677						
3334	670	Psammeticus, one of the 12 kings, defeats the other 11, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azotus			Asarhaddon carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and		

A.M.	A.C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
		after a siege of 29 years.			carries him into Babylon.		
				Babylon and Nineveh.			
3335	600			Saosduchia, or Nebuchodonosor I. In the twelfth year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia.		Death of De-joces. Phraortes succeeds him.	
3347	607			Death of Nebuchodonosor. Saracus, called also Chynadanus, succeeded him.			
			Tyrtens, a poet who excelled in celebrating military virtue. Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionic sect.	Nabopolassar's revolt against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon.		Phraortes perishes at the siege of Nineveh, with part of his army. Cyaxares his son, succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions.	Sadyate. He forms the siege of Miletus in the 16th year of his reign.
3356	648						
3364	640						
3369	635						
3373	631						
3378	626						
			Draco, legislator of Athens.	Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire.		Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Syracus its king to death.	Alyattes. He continues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on six years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after, by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes.
3380	624						
3385	619						
3388	616	Nechao. The 7th year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seizes part of his dominions. He reigned 16 years.		Babylon.			
3397	607			Nabopolassar, associates his son Nebuchodonosor in the empire, he sends him at the head of an army to reconquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.			
				Jerusalem taken by Nebuchodonosor. He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and among them the prophet Daniel.			
				The captivity begins from his carrying away the Jews to Babylon.			
3399	605		Solon. The 7 sages of Greece lived about this time.	Death of Nabopolassar. His son Nebuchodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.			
3400	604			Nebuchodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.			
3403	601		Psaromis six years.			Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia.	
3404	600						
			Alcæus, from whom the Alcaic verses take their name.	Nebuchodonosor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judea, blockade Jerusalem, and put king Jeboiakim to death. About the end of the same year Nebuchodonosor repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jeboiakim.		Birth of Cyrus.	
3405	590		Sappho, at the same time.			Death of Cyaxares.	
3407	595					Astyages, his son, succeeds him. He reigns 15 years.	
3411	594	Apyries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the 1st year of his reign.					

A.M.	A.C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Media.	Lydia.
3411	593	Zedekiah, king of Judah,		whom he carries into captivity.		
3416	588	makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah.		Nebuchodonosor destroys Jerusalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his dominions he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.	Cyrus goes at the first time into Media, to see his grandfather Astyages. He remains three years with him.	
3430	572	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya.				
		Amasis revolts against Apries.				
3432	572	Nebuchodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne.		Nebuchodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of thirteen years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.		
3434	570			Nebuchodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3435	569	Apries dies		Nebuchodonosor reduced to the condition of beasts during seven years, after which he reigns again one year. Evil-		
3440	564	in the twenty-fifth year of his reign.	Thespis reforms tragedy.	Merodach his son succeeds him. He reigns only 2 years.		
		Amasis reigns after him in peace.	Pythagoras lived about this time.			
3442	562					
3444	560		Simonides, the celebrated poet.	Neriglissor. He makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Croesus to his aid.	Death of Astyages. Cyaxares succeeds him, known in the Scripture under the name of Darius the Mede.	Croesus. Aesop lived in his reign, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.
3445	559		Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens.		Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.	
3447	557				Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.	
3448	556			Laborosoarchod. He reigns only nine months.	Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Neriglissor is slain.	Croesus flies before Cyrus.
3449	555				About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.	
3456	542			Labynit, called in Scripture Belshazzar.		Battle of Thymbra between Croesus and Cyrus, followed by the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia.
3460	544	Hippoxax, author of the verse Scazon.				
		Heraclitus, chief of the sect which bears his name.				
3464	540	Birth of Aeschylus.		Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon.	
3466	538	Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.			Death of Cyaxares.	
3458	546					

A.M.	A.C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Persian Empire.
				<i>After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians; and of the three formed a fourth, under the name of the empire of the Persians, which subsisted two hundred and six years.</i>
				<i>Empire of the Persians.</i>
3468	506			Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa.
3470	534			Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.
3475	520			Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.
3478	526			Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the kingdom of the Persians.
3479	525	Psammetitus. He reigns only six months.	Death of Pisistratus. Hippias his son succeeds him.	Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians.
3490	524	After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the Persian dominions, and continues so till the reign of Alexander the Great, which includes the space of two hundred and six years.		Cambyses puts Meræ, who was both his sister and wife, to death.
3491	523			It was about this time that Oretas, one of the satraps of Cambyses, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.
3492	522			Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magian, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyses, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months.
3493	521			Darius, son of Hystaspes.
3495	519			Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther happened some time after the publication of this edict.
3498	516			Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months.
3499	514		Miltiades goes to settle in the Chersonesus.	Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.
3496	508		The Pisistratidae are obliged to abandon Attica.	Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection.
<i>The history of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians; for which reason I shall separate their chronology no farther.</i>				
<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>				
3501	503			The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.
3502	502			Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.
3504	500			The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it.
3507	497			The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus.
3510	494			Æschylus.
3513	491			Darius sends Gobryas his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece.
3514	490			Anacreon.
3515	489			Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobryas, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.
3519	485			Battle of Marathon.
3520	484			Unfortunate end of Miltiades.
3524	480			Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.
				Birth of the historian Herodotus.
				Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.
				Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, at the same time as the battle of Thermopylæ.
				Birth of Euripides.
				Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.
3525	479			Battle of Platæa. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.
3526	478			The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.
3528	476			The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.

A.M.	A.C.	<i>Persians and Greeks.</i>
3528	476	Pinder flourished about this time.
3530	474	Pausanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.
3531	473	Themistocles, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.
		Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.
3532	472	Xerxes is killed by Artabanes, the captain of his guards.
		Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.
3533	471	Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.
		Birth of the historian Thucydides.
3534	470	Great earthquake at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the Helots.
		Birth of Socrates.
3535	469	Pericles begins to distinguish himself
		Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.
		Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians, in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the ostracism.
3537	467	Esdra obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with all that are willing to follow him.
3538	466	Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.
3540	464	Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians called Διαίτηνται. Hippocrates was his disciple.
3544	460	The Egyptians supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.
3545	459	Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.
3548	456	The Egyptians and Athenians are defeated in their turn; in consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.
		Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Thebans.
3550	454	Nehemiah obtains permission from Artaxerxes, to return to Jerusalem.
3554	450	Birth of Xenophon.
		Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years' absence; reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.
3555	449	End of the war between the Greeks and the Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years.
		Death of Cimon.
3558	446	The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.
		Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time.
		Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.
3564	440	Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island, after a siege of nine months.
		Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus. Parrhasius, his rival, lived at the same time.
		Aristophanes, the comic poet.
3568	436	Birth of Isocrates.
		War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Coreyrians. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.
		Scopas, architect and sculptor.
3573	431	Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It continues 27 years.
3574	430	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.
		Death of Pericles.
3576	428	The Lacedæmonians besiege Platæa.
		Plato, founder of the ancient academy.
3579	425	Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days.
		Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.
3580	424	Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him.
		The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.
		Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.
		Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.
3583	421	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.
3584	420	The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.
3588	416	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egæta against the Syracusans.
3589	415	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.

A.M.	A.C.	Persians and Greeks.
3590	414	Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.
3593	411	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.
3595	409	Alcibiades is re-called to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority. Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.
3598	406	Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.
3599	405	Callicratidas is invested with the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginæ. Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamus. Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.
3600	404	Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty archons, commonly called the thirty tyrants. End of the Peleponnesian war. Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces his son succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.
		Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.
3601	403	Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis. Thrasylbulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
3602	402	Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.
3603	401	Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand. Death of Socrates.
3604	400	Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.
3606	398	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.
3607	397	Agesilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.
3609	395	Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne. The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agesilaus.
3610	394	Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabazus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time, in the plains of Coronea. Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
3617	387	Peace, disgraceful to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcidas the Lacedæmonian.
3618	386	Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him. It is followed by the siege of Salamin, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.
3620	384	Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Candusians. Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.
3621	383	The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.
3622	382	Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes. Birth of Demosthenes.
3626	378	Pelopidas, at the head of the other exiles, kills the tyrant of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.
3627	377	Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparation for that war.
3629	375	Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander, his eldest son, succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdicas ascends the throne next, and reigns 14 years.
3630	374	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles, his son, succeeds him.
3634	370	Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians.
3635	369	Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Phœæ. He goes to Macedonia, to terminate the differences between Perdicas and Ptolemy, son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as a hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Phœæ.
3641	363	Battle of Mantinea. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.
3642	362	The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from this expedition.
		Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.
3644	360	Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians

A. M. A. C.	Persians and Greeks.
3644 360	<i>The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's Successors. I shall annex to it that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.</i>
3646 358	War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years.
3648 356	Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.
3649 355	Revolt of Artabasus against Ochus king of Persia.
	Birth of Alexander the Great.
	Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, who were alarmed by the preparations for war making by the king of Persia.
3650 354	Beginning of the sacred war.
3651 353	Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.
3652 352	Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone.
	Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes.
3653 351	Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain.
3654 350	Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt.
	Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns.
3656 348	Death of Plato.
	Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
3658 346	Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Phocia. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons.
3662 342	Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithus.
3665 339	The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege.
3666 338	Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa.
	Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.
	Ochus, king of Persia is poisoned by Bagoas his favourite. Arses his son succeeds him, and reigns only three years.
3667 337	Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks, against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.
3668 336	Philip's death. Alexander his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him.
3669 335	Artes, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. Darius Codomanus succeeds him.
	Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth.
3670 334	Alexander sets out for Persia.
	Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.
3671 333	Alexander is seized at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days.
	Battle of Issus.
3672 332	Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months.
	Appelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenes were his cotemporaries.
	Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.
3673 331	Battle of Arbela. It is followed by the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.
3674 330	Darius is seized and slain with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.
	The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.
	Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracarta.
	Philotas, and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.
3675 329	Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death.
	Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.
	Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.
	Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.
3676 328	Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus.
	Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Calisthenes happens soon after.
	Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.
3677 327	Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.
3678 326	On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back.
	The city of Oxadrycæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.
3679 325	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius.
	Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.
	Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffers himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.
3680 324	Death of Hephæstion at Ecbatana.
	Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.

A. M. [A. C.]		Persians and Greeks.								
3681	323	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas. The generals divide the provinces among themselves. From this division commences the era of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt. The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.								
3682	322	Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it. Death of Demosthenes.								
3683	321	Alexander's magnificent funeral. Perdiccas puts Eumenes in possession of Cappadocia. League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes. Death of Craterus. Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.								
3684	320	Eumenes defeated by Antigonus; shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year. Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.								
3685	319	Death of Antipater. Polysperchon succeeds him. Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens. Cassander, the son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.								
3687	317	Olympias the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus and Eurydice his wife to be put to death, as she herself is soon after, by order of Cassander.								
3689	315	Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death.								
3691	313	Antigonus takes Tyre, after a siege of fifteen months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear.								
3692	312	Zeno institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens.								
3693	311	Seleucus makes himself master of Babylon and the neighbouring provinces. At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon, begins the famous era of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the era of contracts. Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him. Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be put to death.								
3695	309	Polysperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Berenice, to death.								
3696	308	Ophellias, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy.								
3698	306	Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamin, and the whole island of Cyprus. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death. Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, assume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.								
3699	305	Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed. Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.								
3700	304	Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after.								
3701	303	The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machines which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous Colossus, called the Colossus of Rhodes. Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks, by the states of Greece assembled at the isthmus.								
3702	302	Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus, and Demetrius his son. Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander among the four allied princes. Arcefilaus, founder of the middle academy. <i>There is such a connexion between the events which happened in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them: for which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table, which contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.</i>								
		<table><tr><th>Egypt.</th><th>Syria.</th><th>Macedonia.</th><th>Thrace & Bithynia.</th></tr><tr><td>Ptolemy Soter.</td><td>Seleucus Nicator.</td><td>Cassander. Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years. Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.</td><td>Lysimachus.</td></tr></table>	Egypt.	Syria.	Macedonia.	Thrace & Bithynia.	Ptolemy Soter.	Seleucus Nicator.	Cassander. Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years. Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	Lysimachus.
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3704	300									
3707	297									
3710	294									
3717	287									
3719	285	Lysimachus dies in battle. After his death his dominions are dismembered and cease to form a distinct kingdom.								
3723	281									

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Syria.	Macedonia.
3724	280		Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraunus. His brother Meleager reigned some time after him. Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatus
3726	276			
3728	276			
3743	261		Antiochus Theos. Seleucus Callinicus.	Demetrius, son of Antigonus Gonatus. Antigonus Doson.
3758	246	Ptolemy Evergetes.		
3762	242			
3772	232			
3778	226		Seleucus Ceraunus. Antiochus the Great.	
3781	223			
3783	221	Ptolemy Philopator.		
3784	220			Philip.
3300	204	Ptolemy Epiphanes.		
3817	187		Seleucus Philopator.	
3824	180	Ptolemy Philometer.		
3825	179			Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians.
Egypt.			Syria.	
3829	175		Antiochus Epiphanes.	
3840	164		Antiochus Eupator.	
3842	162		Demetrius Soter.	
3854	150		Alexander Bala.	
3859	145	Ptolemy Physcon.	Demetrius Nicator.	
3860	144		Antiochus Theos, the son of Bala, seizes part of Syria. Tryphon does the same soon after.	
3864	140		Antiochus Sidetes puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his stead.	
3877	127		Zebia succeeds Demetrius Nicator.	
3880	124		Seleucus the son of Nicator.	
			Antiochus Grypus.	
3887	117	Ptolemy Lathyrus.		
3890	114		Antiochus the Cyzicenean divides the kingdom with Grypus.	
3897	107	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.		
3907	97		Seleucus, son of Grypus.	
3911	93		Antiochus Eusebes.	
3912	92		Antiochus, second son of Grypus.	
3913	91		Philip, third son of Grypus.	
3914	90		Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus.	
3919	85		Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus.	
			The four last named kings reigned successively with Eusebes.	
			Tigranes, during fourteen years.	
3921	83			
3923	81	Alexander II. son of Alexander I.		
3935	69		Antiochus Asiaticus.	
3939	65	Ptolemy Auletes.		
3946	58	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, reigns some time in his stead; after which that prince is restored.		
3953	51	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy, her youngest brother, and at last alone.		
Alexander's Successors.				
3704	300	Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch.		
		Athens refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.		
3707	257	Death of Cassander king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is succeeded by Alexander his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.		
3709	295	Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.		
3710	294	Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.		
3711	293	Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.		
3717	287	Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.		
3719	285	Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.		
		Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philæteus.		
3721	283	Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.		
3722	282	Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.		
3723	281	Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.		

A. M.	A. C.	Alexander's Successors.
3721	290	Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoë to death, and banishes her into Samothracia.
		The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.
		Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, enters Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.
3725	279	Interruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.
3726	278	Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers. Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.
		Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.
3727	277	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek.
3728	276	Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatus, son of Foliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his stead. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.
3729	275	Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of Soter.
3730	274	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.
		Ptolemy Philadelphus, on account of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.
3731	272	Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.
3736	268	Antigonus Gonatus makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.
3739	265	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias its governor to death. Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3741	263	Death of Philetærus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes his nephew succeeds him.
3743	261	Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after.
		Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
3746	259	Accommodation between Magus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3749	256	War between Antiochus king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
3752	252	Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.
3754	250	Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. At about the same time Theodorus governor of Bactriana revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.
3755	249	Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.
3756	248	Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.
3757	247	Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes his son succeeds him.
		Appollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
3758	246	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king.
		Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.
		Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of a great part of Syria.
3760	244	The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes.
		Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth.
		Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
3762	242	Death of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his son succeeds him.
		Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
3763	241	Death of Eumenes king of Pergamus. Attalus his cousin-german succeeds him.
3765	239	Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes.
3771	233	Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes.
3772	232	Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius succeeds him.
		Polycletus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor.
3774	230	Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians.
3776	228	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.
3778	226	Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies among the Parthians of a fall from a horse. Seleucus Ceraunus his eldest son succeeds him.
		Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.
		Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysias, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and causes his city to enter into the Achæan league.
3779	225	The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree, that they shall be admitted to partake in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens.

A.M. A.C.		Alexander's Successors.
3779	225	Antigonus, king of Macedon, by the intrigues of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.
3781	223	Cleomenes, king of Megalopolis. Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus. Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus his brother, surnamed the Great, succeeds him.
3782	222	The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake.
3783	221	Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopator succeeds him. The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.
3784	220	Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia. Death of Antigonus, king of Macedon. Philip, the son of Demetrius, succeeds him. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agisipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him. War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans. Hermias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's order.
3785	219	Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria.
3787	218	Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedon and the Achæans on the one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.
3788	216	Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted, in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan. Hannibal's alliance with Philip king of Macedon.
3789	215	Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia.
3790	214	Carneades, founder of a new academy.
3792	212	Antiochus undertakes to reduce the province which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.
3793	211	Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus enters into it. The Lacedæmonians accede to it some time after.
3796	208	Famous battle between Philip king of Macedon and the Ætolians near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.
3798	205	Battle of Mantinea, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.
3800	204	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it. Polybius is said to have been born this year. Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.
3801	203	League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.
3802	202	Philip, king of Macedon, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chios. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cynæans seems to be properly dated the following year.
3803	201	Philip besieges and takes Abydos.
3804	200	The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedon.
3805	199	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flaminius is sent to succeed Villicus.
3806	198	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria. The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.
3807	197	Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the same. Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.
3808	196	Battle of Cynoscephalæ, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war. Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded. Conspiracy of Scopas the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.
3809	195	Flaminius makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.
3813	191	Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta. The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem. Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league. Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the strait of Thermopylæ.
3814	190	Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years. The philosopher Panætius was born about this time.
3815	189	The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time, subjects all the Gauls in Asia. The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.
3817	187	Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.
3821	183	Philopœmen is taken before Messene by Democritus and put to death.
3823	181	Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedon, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.
3824	180	Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometer succeeds him.
3825	179	Death of Philip, king of Macedon. Perseus his son succeeds him.

A.M.A.C.		Alexander's Successors.	
3829	175	Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.	
3830	174	Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.	
3833	171	War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer. The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.	
3834	170	Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties.	
3835	169	The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes his younger brother, king. Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.	
3836	168	Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war, against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedon. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire, till twenty years after. The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days. Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers. Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews and sends Appollonius to Jerusalem. The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him, to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution among the Jews.	
3837	167	Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time. Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken part with Perseus. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.	
3838	166	Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes king of Pergamus is not permitted to enter it. Death of Mattathias. Judas his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.	
3840	164	Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies with the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his son, succeeds him.	
3841	163	Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital.	
3842	162	Difference between Philometer, king of Egypt, and Physcon, his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years. Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated. Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as a hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.	
3843	161	Death of Judas Maccabæus.	
3844	160	Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans.	
3845	159	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometer succeeds him.	
3848	156	War between Attalus and Prusias.	
3851	153	Alexander Bala pretends to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.	
3852	152	Andriscus of Adramyttium pretends to be the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.	
3854	150	Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.	
3856	148	Macedon is reduced into a province of the Roman Empire.	
3857	147	Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.	
3858	146	Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him; and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia.	
<i>The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much confused; for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.</i>			
		Syria.	Egypt.
3859	145	Demetrius Nicator, son of	Death of Ptolemy Philometer.
3860	144	Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne.	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, makes himself master of part of the kingdom. Tryphon gets Jonathon into
			ter. Ptolemy Physcon his brother succeeds him.

A.M.A.C.		Syria.	Egypt.
3863	141	Demetrius marches against the Parthians. After some small advantages, he is taken prisoner.	his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and seizes the kingdom of Syria.
3864	140		Antiochus Sidetes, the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himself.
3866	138		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3868	136		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3869	135		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3871	133		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3873	131		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3874	130	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3877	127	Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place, and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3880	124	Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus succeeds him.	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3882	122	Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus and is poisoned herself.	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3884	120		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3887	117		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3890	114		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3891	113		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3897	107		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3900	104		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3901	103		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3903	101		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3907	97	Death of Grypus. Seleucus is son succeeds him.	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3910	94	Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burned in Mopsuestia.	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3911	93		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.
3912	92	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently, after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.

AMM. AC.		Syria.	Egypt.
		Orontes.	
3913	31	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus succeeds him.	
3914	90	Demetrius Euecharis, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus, by the aid of Lathyrus.	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3915	89		Alexander is expelled, and dies, soon after. Lathyrus is recalled.
3916	88		
3919	85	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.	
3921	83	The Syrians weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroys.	Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels, whom he had before defeated, had taken refuge.
3922	82		Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.
3923	81		Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His kingdom and Cyrenaica are reduced into Roman provinces the same year.
3928	76	Tigranes recalls Magdalus his viceroys in Syria.	Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes natural son of Lathyrus is set in his place.
3935	69	Antiochus Asiaticus takes possession of Syria, and reigns four years.	
3939	65	Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.	
Egypt.			
3946	58	The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that island. Cato is charged with that commission.	
		Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.	
3949	55	Gabinus and Antony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions.	
3953	51	Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son and his eldest daughter, the famous Cleopatra.	
3956	48	Ponthisus and Achilles, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.	
3957	47	Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne, with Ptolemy her youngest brother.	
3961	43	Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.	
3963	41	Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.	
3971	33	Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children.	
		Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.	
3973	31	Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar.	
3974	30	Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.	
		Cappadocia.	Pontus.
3490	514		The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king of it. Little is known of his successors, till the time of Mithridates.
3600	404		Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus. Ariobarzanes, He reigns 26 years.
3638	366		
3644	360	Ariarathes I. was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Heliophernes.	Mithridates II. He reigns 35 years.
3667	337		
3668	336	Ariarathes II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who set Eumenes on the throne.	
3689	315	Ariarathes III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes.	
3702	302		Mithridates III. reigns 36 years. The reigns of the three kings who succeeded him, include the space of one hundred years. The last of
3702	284	Ariamnes.	

A.M. A.C.		Cappadocia.	Parthian Empire.	Pontus.
3754	140	Ariarathes IV.	Arsaces I. founder of the Parthian empire. Arsaces II. brother to the first. Priapatus. Phraates I.	them was Mithridates IV. great grand-father of Mithridates the Great.
3814	190	Ariarathes V.		Pharnaces, son of Mithridates IV.
3819	185		Mithridates I.	
3840	164	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator.	Phraates II. Artabanus. After a very short reign, he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns 40 years.	Mithridates V. surnamed Evergetes. Mithridates VI. surnamed the Great.
3842	162			Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son king of it.
3873	131	Ariarathes VII.		
3875	129			
3881	123			
3913	91	Ariarathes VIII. Mithridates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after, Ariarathes IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father.		
3914	90	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		
3915	89	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates.	Mnaschires, and after him Sinatrocer. These two princes reign about 20 years.	Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans. Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day. Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens and most of the cities of Greece. Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege. Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Cheronea. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenos. Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminated the war. Mithridates puts his son to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It lasted nearly three years. Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius. Beginning of the third war of Mithridates against the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army. Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid. Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus. Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cabira. He retires to Tigranes. Lucullus declares war against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigrane-
3916	81			
3917	87			
3918	86			
3920	84			
3921	83			
3926	78	Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes.		
3928	76	His reign, and the very short one of his son, continues down to about the year 3953.		
3929	75			
3930	74			
3931	73			
3933	7			
3934	70			
3935	69		Phraates III. who assumes the surname of the Good.	

A.M. 10.		Cappadocia.	Parthian Empire.	Pontus.
393	68			certa, the capital of Armenia. Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.
397	67			Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in consequence of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.
3938	66			Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.
3939	65			Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.
3948	56		Mithridates, eldest son of Phraates.	Pompey makes himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up.
3950	54		Orodes. Unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Parthians.	Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.
3953	51	Ariobarzanes III. etc is put to death by Cassius.		
3962	42	Ariarathes X.	Ventidius, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Parthians, which retrieves the honour they had lost at the battle of Carræ.	
3973	31	M. Antony drives Ariarathes out of Cappadocia, and sets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was reduced to a Roman province,		
		Syracuse.		Carthage.
3501	503	Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295; before Christ 709.		Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3153, before Christ 846.
3520	484	First appearance of Gelon.		First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was concluded: but what year they did so is not known.
3523	481			The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.
3525	479	Gelon is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns five or six years.		The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.
3533	472	Hiero I. He reigns 11 years.		
3543	461	Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects.		
3544	460	The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years.		
3539	415	The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely.		The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal, to aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans.
3538	411	Beginning of Dionysius the Elder.		
3545	403			Hannibal and Imilcon are sent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum.
4597	43	Dionysius, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo.		
3480	44	Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius, upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person.		The war carried on by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.
4605	399	New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them. Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.		

AM	AC	Syracuse.	Carthage.
3607	397	Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by a herald, whom he despatched to Carthage.	Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.
3615	389	Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.	
3632	372	Death of Dionysius the Elder. His son, Dionysius the Younger, succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court.	
		Dion banished by the order of Dionysius, returns into Peloponnesus.	
3643	363	Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant by open force.	
3644	360	Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.	
3646	353	Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months.	
3647	357	Hippiarius, brother of Dionysius the Younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years.	
3654	350	Dionysius reinstated.	Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
3656	348	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, who was sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans.
3657	347	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself, and retire to Corinth.	Hanno a citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.
3658	346	Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great.
3672	332		
3685	319	Agathocles makes himself tyrant of Syracuse.	Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa.
3724	280	A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery.	
3727	277		The Carthaginians send Mago with a fleet to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus.
3729	275	Hiero and Artemidorus are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.	
3736	268	Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.	Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It continues twenty four years.
3741	263	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a siege of seven months.
3743	261		Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the Coast of Myle.
3749	255		Sea-fight near Ecnomus in Sicily.
3750	254		Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner.
			Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.
3755	249		Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.
3756	248		Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans.
3763	241	Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries.	Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands of Egates, followed by a treaty, which puts an end to the first Punic war.
			War of Libya against the foreign mercenaries. It continues three years and four months.
3767	237		The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.
3776	228		Amilcar is killed in Spain. Asdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army.
			Hannibal is sent into Spain at the request of his uncle Asdrubal.

AM. IC		Syracuse.	Carthage.
3784	220		Asdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his stead.
3786	218	Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.	Siege of Saguntum. Beginning of the second Punic war which continues seventeen years. Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
3787	217		Battle of Thrasymenus. Hannibal deceives Fabius at the strait of Cassilinum.
3788	216		Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.
3789	215	Death of Hiero. Hieronymus, his grandson succeeds him. Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse.	Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.
3790	214		Asdrubal is defeated in Spain by the two Scipios.
3792	212	Marcellus takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years.	
Carthage.			
3793	211	The two Scipios are killed in Spain. The Romans besiege Capua.	
3794	210	Hannibal advances to Rome, and besieges it. The Romans soon after take Capua.	
3798	206	Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other consul, Nero, had joined.	
3799	205	Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa.	
3802	202	Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.	
3803	201	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.	
3804	200	Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war. Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second and the beginning of the third Punic wars.	
3810	194	Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.	
3813	191	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus.	
3816	189	Hannibal takes refuge in the island of Crete, to avoid being delivered up to the Romans.	
3820	184	Hannibal abandons the island of Crete, to take refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia.	
3822	182	Death of Hannibal.	
3823	181	The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to adjudge the differences which had arisen between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.	
3843	156	Second embassy sent by the Romans into Africa, to make new inquiries into the differences existing between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.	
3855	149	Beginning of the third Punic war. It continues a little more than four years.	
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- Am-mo'ni-ans**, *i.* 362; famous temple of that people, *ibid.* *iii.* 129.
- Am'nes-ty**, famous one at Athens, *ii.* 243; occasions when amnesties are necessary, 244.
- A-mor'ges**, bastard of Pisuthnes, revolts against Darius Nothus, *ii.* 212; he is taken and sent into Persia, *ibid.*
- Am'o-sis**, king of Egypt. See Thetmosis.
- Am-phar'es**, one of the Spartan ephori, *iii.* 381; his treachery and cruelty to king Agis, *ibid.* 382.
- Am-phic'ty-on**, king of Athens, *i.* 412.
- Am-phic'ty-ons**. Institution of that assembly, *i.* 412, *ii.* 349; their power, 350; oath taken at their installation, *ibid.*; their condescension for Philip occasions the diminution of their authority, *ibid.*; famous sacred war undertaken by order of this assembly, *iii.* 39.
- Am-phip'o-lis**, city of Thrace, besieged by Cleon, general of the Athenians, *ii.* 173; Philip takes that city from the Athenians, and declares it free, *iii.* 34; it is soon after taken possession of by that prince, *ibid.*

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A-myn'tas I. king of Macedonia, submits to Darius, ii. 27.
A-myn'tas II. king of Macedonia, father of Philip, iii. 30; his death, *ibid.*
A-myn'tas, son of Perdicas, excluded from the throne of Macedonia, iii. 30.
A-myn'tas, deserter from Alexander's army, seizes the government of Egypt, iii. 123; is killed there, *ibid.*
A myn'tas, one of Alexander the Great's officers, iii. 142.
A-myr-te-us, one of the generals of the Egyptians, who had revolted against Artaxerxes Longimanus, ii. 106; he is assisted by the Athenians, 116; he drives the Persians out of Egypt, and is declared king of it, ii. 169; he dies, 170.
A-my'tis, wife of Nebuchodonosor, i. 277.
An-a-char'sis, of the nation of the Scythian Nomades, one of the seven sages, i. 449; his contempt for riches, 450.
A-nac're-on, Greek poet, i. 446.
An-a'tis. Fate of one of the statues of this goddess, iv. 399.
An-ax-ag'o-ras, his care of Pericles, ii. 110; his doctrine, *ibid.*
An-ax-an'der, king of Lacedæmonia, i. 86.
An-ax-i-la'us, tyrant of Zancle, ii. 137.
A-nax-im'e-nes, in what manner he saved his country, iii. 88.
An-dra-na-do'rus, guardian of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, iv. 319; his strange abuse of authority, 320; after the death of Hieronymus, he seizes part of Syracuse, 322; he forms a conspiracy for ascending the throne, *ibid.*; he is accused and put to death, 323.
An-dris'cus, of Adramyttium, pretends himself the son of Perseus, and is declared king of Macedonia, iv. 209; he defeats the Roman army commanded by the prætor Juventius, 210; he is defeated twice by Metellus, *ibid.*; he is taken and sent to Rome, *ibid.*; he adorns the triumph of Metellus, 217.
An-dro-cles, son of Codrus, king of Athens, i. 415.
An-drom'a-chus, governor of Syria and Palestine for Alexander, iii. 132; sad end of that governor, *ibid.*
An-drom'a-chus, father of Achæus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, iii. 399; Ptolemy Philopator sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 404.
An-dro-ni'cus, general for Antigonius, makes himself master of Tyre, iii. 267; he is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, 270.
An-dro-ni'cus, an officer of Perseus, put to death, iv. 169.
An-dro-ni'cus of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Aristotle, iv. 354.
An-dros'the-nes, commander for Philip at Corinth, is defeated by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, iv. 32.
An'gels, opinions of the pagans concerning them, ii. 306.
A-ni'e-i-us, Roman prætor, is charged with the war against Gentius, king of Illyria, iv. 177; he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, *ibid.*; he receives the honour of a triumph, 193.
An-tal'ci-des, Lacedæmonian, concludes a shameful peace with the Persians for the Greeks, ii. 289.
An-to-ny, (Marcus) contributed by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, iv. 388; when triumvir, he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 395; his passion for that princess, and her influence over him, *ibid.*; she carries him with her to Alexandria, 397; Antony returns to Rome and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 398; he makes some expeditions into Parthia, 399; then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, *ibid.*; his injurious treatment of Octavia, *ibid.*;

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he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 400; there he celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, *ibid.*; open rupture between Cæsar and Antony, 402; the latter repudiates Octavia, *ibid.*; Antony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 403; he is entirely defeated in a sea-fight near Actium, where all his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, and he returns to Alexandria, 404; he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, *ibid.*; seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, sends a challenge to Cæsar to a single combat, 406; believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, *ibid.*; he expires in Cleopatra's arms, 407; that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 408.
An-tig'o-na, mistress of Philotas, accuses him to Alexander, iii. 158.
An-tig'o-na, the daughter of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, iii. 300.
An-ti-go-ni-a, city built by Antigonius, iii. 295, 298, and destroyed by Seleucus, 298.
An-tig'o-nus, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, iii. 229; he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 245; he marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, 246; he becomes very powerful, 248; he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres to them, 255; he is defeated by that captain, 262; he gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, and then rids himself of him in prison, 265; a confederacy is formed against him, 267; he takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, 268; he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 268; he concludes a treaty with the confederated princes, 273; he puts Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, to death, 274; he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of Greece, 275, 276; he besieges and takes Athens, *ibid.*; excessive honours paid him there, 277; he assumes the title of king, 281; he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 283; his enterprise is unsuccessful, 284; he loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it, 296.
An-tig'o-nus Go-na'tus offers himself as a hostage for Demetrius his father, iii. 307; he establishes himself in Macedonia, 325; Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 340; he retires into his maritime cities, *ibid.*; he sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 343; he marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, 344; he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 345; he besieges Athens, and takes it, 347, 348; his death, 360.
An-tig'o-nus Do'son, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, iii. 363; the Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 387, 389; he occasions their gaining several advantages, 390; he is victorious in the famous battle of Selasia against Cleomenes, 393; he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 396; he marches against the Illyrians, and dies, after having gained a victory over them, 397.
An-tig'o-nus, nephew of Antigonius Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, iv. 117; Philip's intention in respect to him, 118; he is put to death by order of Perseus, 148.
An-tig'o-nus, a Macedonian lord in the army of Perseus, iv. 175.
An-tig'o-nus, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Iturea, iv. 272; at his return, his brother puts him to death, *ibid.*
An-tig'o-nus, son of Aristobulus II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, iv. 279; he is set upon the throne of

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Judea, 280; he is besieged in Jerusalem, 281; he surrenders, and is put to death, *ibid.*

An-tim'a-chus, officer in the army of Perseus, *iv.* 164.

An-ti-och, city built by Seleucus upon the Orontes, *iii.* 298.

An-ti-o-chus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, *ii.* 223.

An-ti-o-chus I. surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice his father's wife, *iii.* 319; he endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 349; he is defeated by Eumenes, puts one of his sons to death, and dies soon after, *ibid.*

An-ti-o-chus II. surnamed Theos, ascends the throne of Syria, *iii.* 349; he delivers Miletus from tyranny, *ibid.*; he carries the war into Egypt against Ptolemy, 351; the provinces of the east revolt against him, *ibid.*; he loses most of those provinces, *ibid.*; he makes peace with Ptolemy, marries Berenice the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, 352; he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 357; Daniel's prophecies concerning him, 352.

An-ti-o-chus III. surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, *iii.* 400; fidelity of Achaus in respect to him, *ibid.*; he appoints Hermias his prime minister, *ibid.*; Molon and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, *ibid.*; he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, *ibid.*; he sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 402; he marches against the rebels, and reduces them, 403; he rides himself of Hermias, 404; he marches into Cælosyria, and takes Seleucia, 405; Tyre and Elymais, 406; he makes a truce with Ptolemy, *ibid.*; the war breaks out again, *ibid.*; Antiochus gains many advantages, 407; he loses a great battle at Raphia, 408; he makes peace with Ptolemy, 409; he turns his arms against Achaus, who had revolted, *ibid.*; Achaus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, *ibid.*; expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 450; Parthia, 452; Hyrcania, *ibid.*; Bactria, *ibid.*; and even into India, 453; he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, *iv.* 8; and seizes Cælosyria and Palestine, *ibid.*; he makes war against Attalus, 19; upon the remonstrances of the Romans he retires, *ibid.*; he recovers Cælosyria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, *ibid.*; Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, 20; he takes some places there, 26; an embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that subject, 37; Hannibal retires to him, 39; the arrival of that general determines him upon a war with the Romans, 46; he marches against the Pisidians, and subdues them, 47; he goes to Greece at the request of the Ætolians, 54; he attempts to bring over the Achaans in vain, 55; and afterwards the Bœotians, 57; he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, *ibid.*; the Romans declare war against him, *ibid.*; he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 58; he goes to Chalcis and marries the daughter of the person in whose house he lodges, *ibid.*; he seizes the strait of Thermopylæ, *ibid.*; he is defeated near these mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 59; on

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his return to Ephesus, he ventures a sea-fight, and loses it, 62; his fleet gains some advantages over the Rhodians, 63; he loses a second battle at sea, 64; conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, 65; he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 66, 67; he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 68, 69, &c.; he demands peace and obtains it, 71; on what conditions, *ibid.*; in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 84; he is killed, *ibid.*; character of Antiochus, 85; Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, *ibid.*

An-ti-o-chus, eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, *iv.* 48; character of that young prince, *ibid.*

An-ti-o-chus IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as a hostage, *iv.* 71; he ascends the throne of Syria, 121; dispute between him and the king of Egypt, 123; he marches against Egypt, and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, 124; then a second, 125; he makes himself master of Egypt, takes the king himself, *ibid.*; upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, and besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, *ibid.*; Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 126; he replaces Ptolemy Philometer upon the throne, 128; he returns into Syria, *ibid.*; he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 128; Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, 130; incensed at what happened in Egypt, he vents his rage upon the Jews, *ibid.*; he orders Apollonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, *ibid.*; cruelties committed there by that general, 130, 131; Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, 131; he enters Judea, and commits horrible cruelties, 133; he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 135, 136; several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 136, 128, 139; he goes to Persia, attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, *ibid.*; upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judea, he sets out instantly with a design to exterminate the Jews, *ibid.*; he is struck by the hand of God on the way, and dies in the greatest torments, 140; Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 141.

An-ti-o-chus V. called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria, and continues the war with the Jews, *iv.* 225; his generals, and himself in person, are defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 226, 227; he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, *ibid.*; Romans discontented with Eupator, 230; his soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 231.

An-ti-o-chus VI. surnamed Tleas, is set upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, *iv.* 238; he is assassinated soon after, 239.

An-ti-o-chus VII. surnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, *iv.* 241; he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, 242; he marches into Judea, besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and the city capitulates, 247; he turns his arms against Parthia, where he perishes, 248; adventure of this prince in hunting, *ibid.*

An-ti-o-chus VIII. surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, *iv.* 252; he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon, king of Egypt, and defeats and expels Zebina, 253; his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, *ibid.*; Antiochus reigns some time in peace, *ibid.*; war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 254; the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 255; Grypus marries Selena, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 258; he is assassinated by one of his vassals, 259

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Ap-ti-o'chus IX. surnamed the Cyzicenean, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, and marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, iv. 254; after several battles he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 255; he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, *ibid.*; he is unsuccessful in that war, 256; after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 260; he loses a battle against Seleucus, the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, *ibid.*

Ap-ti-o'chus X. surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyzicenean, obtains the crown of Syria, and expels Seleucus, iv. 259; he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brothers of Seleucus, *ibid.*; he marries Selena, the widow of Grypus, *ibid.*; he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge among the Parthians, *ibid.*; by their aid he returns into Syria, 260; he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, *ibid.*

Ap-ti-o'chus XI. son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, iv. 260; he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, *ibid.*

Ap-ti-o'chus XII. surnamed Dionysius, seizes Cœlosyria, and reigns a short time, iv. 260.

Ap-ti-o'chus XIII. called Asiaticus, sent by Selena, his mother, to Rome, iv. 263; on his return he goes to Sicily, and receives a very great affront from Verres, *ibid.*; he reigns some time in Syria, 265, 377; Pompey deprives him of his dominions, 265.

Antipater, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judea, iv. 276; he sends troops to aid Cæsar, besieged in Alexandria, 394.

Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, iii. 87; he defeats the Lacedæmonians, who had revolted against Macedonia, 153; Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 204; suspicions of Antipater's expedition into Greece after Alexander's death, 232, 233; he is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, 233; he surrenders that place by capitulation, 234; he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison in it, 236; he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 236, 237; he gives Phila his daughter to Craterus in marriage, 238; he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia in the room of Perdiccas, 245; death of Antipater, 247.

Antipater, eldest son of Cassander, iii. 302; dispute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, *ibid.*; he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, *ibid.*; Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, *ibid.*; he retires into Thrace, and dies there, *ibid.*

Antiphon, courtier of Dionysius. Witty saying which cost him his life, ii. 387.

Antony.—See Anthony.

Anty-sis, king of Egypt, i. 137.

A-or-nos, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, iii. 181.

Ap-am-i-a, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magas, iii. 351.

Ap-a-tri-æ: Feasts celebrated at Athens, ii. 228.

Ap-a-tri-us, an officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, iii. 399; he is put to death, *ibid.*

A-pe-ga, infernal machine invented by Nabis, iii. 450.

A-pel'les, courtier of Philip, iii. 417; abuses his power, *ibid.*; he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, 418; he perishes miserably, 426.

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A-pel'les, accomplice of Perseus in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, iv. 116; after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 118.

A-pel'les, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, Mattathias kills him with all his followers, iv. 132.

A-pel'li-con, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, iv. 354.

A'pis, ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, i. 115.

A'pis, king of Argos, i. 412.

A-pol'lo, Temple erected in honour of him at Delphos, i. 38.

Ap-ol-loe'ra-tes, the eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse in his father's name, ii. 404; he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 409.

A-pol-lo-do'rus, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, iii. 141.

A-pol-lo-do'rus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, iv. 391.

A-pol-lo-do'rus, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannæus, iv. 273; he is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, *ibid.*

Ap-ol-lon'i-des, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, and is seized and put to death, iii. 245.

Ap-ol-lon'i-des, magistrate of Syracuse, his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, iv. 324.

Ap-ol-lon-i-us, lord of the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, and then to Rome, iv. 123; Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 130; his cruelties there, *ibid.*; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and killed in the battle, 136.

Ap-ol-lon-i-us, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, iv. 235.

Ap-ol-joph'a-nes, physician to Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, iii. 403; salutary advice which he gave Antiochus, 405.

Ap'pi-us (Claudius), Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, i. 186; iv. 311; he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, *ibid.*

Ap'pi-us (Claudius) Roman Senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, iii. 331.

Ap'pi-us (Claudius), Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beaten near Uscana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, iv. 164, 165.

A'pri-es ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 143; success of that prince, *ibid.*; Zedekiah, king of Judah, implores his aid, *ibid.*; declares himself protector of Israel, *ibid.*; Egypt revolts against him and sets Amasis on the throne, 144; he is obliged to retire into upper Egypt, *ibid.*; Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 145.

A-quil'i-us (Manius), Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, iv. 344.

Ar-a'bi-ans (Nabuthæan): Character of that people, iii. 272.

Ar-ra'eus, Lacedæmonian admiral, ii. 230.

A-ras'pes, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, i. 321; passion which he conceives for that princess, *ibid.*; goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, *ibid.*; he does that prince great service in going as a spy among the Assyrians, 322, 328.

A-ra'tus, son of Clinias, escapes from Babylon to avoid the fury of Abant das, iii. 365; he delivers

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that city from the tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league, *ibid.*; he appeases a sedition on the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 367; he is elected general of the Achæans, 368; he takes Corinth from Antigonus, 369; he makes several cities enter into the Achæan league, 371; he has not the same success at Argos, 372; he marches against the Ætolians, 379; Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains several advantages over him, 384; envy of Aratus to that prince, 387; he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.*; he marches against the Ætolians, and is defeated near Caphyia, 412; Philip's affection for Aratus, *ibid.*; Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 419; he is declared innocent, *ibid.*; he accompanies Philip into Ætolia; his expedition against the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians and Eleans, 420; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 431; his funeral solemnized magnificently, *ibid.*; praise and character of Aratus, 466, 422, 431.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, *iii.* 416; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 431.

Ar-baces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, *i.* 282, 283, 292.

Ar-baces, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon against his brother Cyrus, *ii.* 250.

Ar-be-la, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, *iii.* 135, 139.

Ar-ce-silas, Alexander's lieutenant: provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, *iii.* 229.

Arch-ag-a-thus, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, *i.* 183; he perishes there miserably, 184.

Ar-che-la-us, governor of Susa for Alexander, *iii.* 143.

Ar-che-la-us, general of Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, *iii.* 370; Aratus sets him at liberty, 371.

Ar-che-la-us, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, *iv.* 345; he is driven out of it by Sylla, 348; he is defeated by the same captain, first at Cheronæa, and then at Orchomenos, 350; he escapes to Chalcis, 351; and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 352; Archelaus goes over to Murena, 355; he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ibid.*

Ar-che-la-us, son of the former, is made high-priest and sovereign of Comana, *iv.* 379; he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 387; he is killed in a battle with the Romans, *ibid.*

Ar-che-la-us, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, *iv.* 30; he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, *ibid.*

Ar-che-la-us, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, *iv.* 306; Tiberius does him great services with Augustus, *ibid.*; he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, *ibid.*; he is cited to Rome, and why, 307; he is very ill received there, and dies soon after, *ibid.*

Ar-chi-as, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, *ii.* 140, 181.

Ar-chi-as, Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the Bœotarchs, *ii.* 429.

Ar-chi-as, comedian, delivers up the orator Hypeides, and several other persons, to Antigonus, *iii.* 236.

Ar-chib'i-us, his attachment to Cleopatra, *iv.* 409.

Ar-chi-da-mi-a, Lacedæmonian lady, heroic action of, *iii.* 341; she is put to death by order of Amphares, 382.

Ar-chid'a-mus, king of Sparta, *ii.* 114; he saves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the helots, *ibid.*; he commands the troops of Sparta at the begin-

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ning of the Peloponnesian war, 145; he besieges Plataeæ, 153.

Ar-chid'a-mus, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, *ii.* 442; his valour during the siege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 450; he reigns in Sparta, 461.

Ar-chid'a-mus, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, *iii.* 383; Cleomenes recalls him, 384; he is assassinated in returning home, *ibid.*

Ar-chid'a-mus, ambassador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, *iv.* 56.

Ar-chil'o-cus, a Greek poet, the inventor of Iambic verse, *i.* 444; character of his poetry, *ibid.*

Ar-chi-me-des, famous geometrician, *iv.* 316; he invents many machines of war, 317; prodigious effects of these machines, 328, 329; he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 333; his tomb discovered by Cicero, 334.

Ar-chi-me-des, Athenian poet, *iv.* 318.

Ar'chon, one of Alexander's officers: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 229.

Ar'chon is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, *iv.* 165; wise resolutions which he prevails on that people to take, 166.

Ar'chons instituted at Athens, *i.* 413, *ii.* 347, *iv.* 430; their function, *ibid.*

Ar'dys, king of Lydia, *i.* 300.

Ar-e-op'a-gus: its establishment, *i.* 412, *ii.* 345; authority of that senate, *i.* 433, *ii.* 346, &c.; Pericles weakens its authority, 347.

Ar-es-tas, king of Arabia Petræa, submits to Pompey, *iv.* 381.

Ar-re-te, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, *ii.* 389; she marries Timocrates in the banishment of the latter, 399; Dion takes her again, 409; her death, 411.

Ar-re-thu'sa, fountain famous in fabulous history, *ii.* 190.

Ar-re-us, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, *iv.* 92; the Achæans condemn him to die, 94; his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 96.

Ar-re-us, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, *iii.* 341.

Ar-re-us, another king of Sparta, *iii.* 374.

Ar-ge-us, is placed by the Athenians on the throne of Macedonia, *iii.* 30; he is defeated by Philip, 33.

Ar-gi-li-an, a name given the slave who discovered the conspiracy of Pausanias, *ii.* 88.

Ar-gi-nu'sæ, isles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, *ii.* 226.

Ar'go, king of Lydia, *i.* 299.

Ar'gos, foundation of that kingdom, *i.* 411; kings of Argos, 412; war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, 82; they refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, *ii.* 57; Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, *iii.* 344; Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, but without success, 372; Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 389; and afterwards by Antigonus, 390; Argos surrenders to Philoetes, one of Philip's generals, *iv.* 25; the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 26; it throws off the yoke of that tyrant and reinstates its liberty, 43.

Ar'gos, king of Argos, *i.* 411.

Ar-i-æ-us, of Alexandria, philosopher; Augustus Caesar's esteem for him, *iv.* 407.

Ar-i-æ-us commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, *ii.* 251; he flies upon advice of that prince's death, 253; the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 256; he refuses it, and makes a treaty with them, *ibid.*

Ar-i-am'nes, Arabian. deceives and betrays Craesus, *iv.* 288.

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- A-ri-am'nes**, king of Cappadocia, iv. 302.
A-ri-a-ra'thes I. king of Cappadocia, iv. 301.
A-ri-a-ra'thes II. son of the first, reigns over Cappadocia, iv. 301; he is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who seizes his dominions and puts him to death, iii. 241, iv. 302.
A-ri-a-ra'thes III. escapes into Armenia, after his father's death, iv. 302; he ascends the throne of his ancestors, *ibid.*
A-ri-a-ra'thes, IV. king of Cappadocia, iv. 302.
A-ri-a-ra'thes V. king of Cappadocia, marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, iv. 47; the Romans lay a heavy fine on him for having assisted his father-in-law, 84; he sends his son to Rome, 152; he declares for the Romans against Perseus, 153; death of Ariarathes, 202.
A-ri-a-ra'thes VI. goes to Rome, and the object of his journey, iv. 152; he refuses to reign during the life of his father, 202; after the death of his father he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, 203; he renews the alliance with the Romans, *ibid.*; he is dethroned by Demetrius, *ibid.*; he implores aid of the Romans, *ibid.*; Attalus re-establishes himself upon the throne, *ibid.*; he enters into a confederacy against Demetrius, 232; he marches to aid the Romans against Aristonicus, and is killed in that war, 303.
A-ri-a-ra'thes VII. reigns in Cappadocia, iv. 304; his brother-in-law, Mithridates, causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.*
A-ri-a-ra'thes VIII. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, iv. 304; he is assassinated by that prince, *ibid.*
A-ri-a-ra'thes IX. king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, iv. 304.
A-ri-a-ra'thes X. ascends the throne of Cappadocia, iv. 306; Sisimna disputes possession of it with him, and carries it against him, *ibid.*; Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, *ibid.*
A-ri-a-ra'thes, son of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, iv. 341; he is dethroned by the Romans, 342; he is reinstated a second, and then a third time, 342, 343.
A-ri-as'pes, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, ii. 462.
A-ri-da'us, bastard brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, iii. 211, 228; Olympias causes him to be put to death, 257.
A-ri-ma'ni-us, divinity adored in Persia, i. 395.
A-ri-ma'us, (Sogdian) governor of Petra Oxiана, refuses to surrender to Alexander, iii. 168; he is besieged in that place, *ibid.*; he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 169.
A-ri-o-bar-zanes, satrap of Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. 93; he revolts against that prince, ii. 461.
A-ri-o-bar-zanes I. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, iv. 304; he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, *ibid.*; Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, 305.
A-ri-o-bar-zanes II. ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, iv. 305.
A-ri-o-bar-zanes III. reigns in Cappadocia, iv. 305; Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, *ibid.*; he sides with Pompey against Caesar, *ibid.*; the latter lays him under contribution, *ibid.*; he refuses to become an ally with Caesar's murderers, 305; Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, *ibid.*
A-ri-o-bar-zanes, governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander's passing it, and is put to flight, iii. 145.
A-ri-sag'o-ras is established governor of Miletus by Hystieus, ii. 27; he joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, 23; he goes to Lacedæmon for aid, and afterwards to Athens, 29, 30; he is defeated and killed in a battle, 32.

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- Ar-is-tan'der**, a soothsayer in the train of Alexander, iii. 137.
Ar-is-ta-za'nes, officer in the court of Ochus, iii. 18.
Ar-is'te-us, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, iii. 344.
Ar-is-ti'des, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, ii. 39; he distinguishes himself in the battle, 40; he is banished, 43; he is recalled, 58; he goes to Themistocles at Salamis, and persuades him to fight in that strait, 67; he rejects the offers of Mardonius, 73, and gains a famous victory over that general at Plataea, 76; he terminates a difference that had arisen between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 77; confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 84; he is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, 86; his conduct in that war, *ibid.*; he is charged with the administration of the public revenues, 90; his death, 93; his character, *ibid.*; his justice, 43, 71, 84; his disinterestedness, 41, 90; his contempt for riches, 91.
Ar-is-ti'des, painter, great esteem for his works, iv. 215.
Ar-is-ti'nes, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare for the Romans against Philip, iv. 22.
A-ris'ti-on usurps the government of Athens, and acts with great cruelty, iv. 345; he is besieged in that city by Sylla, *ibid.*; he is taken and put to death, 348.
Ar-is-tip'pus, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, ii. 308.
Ar-is-tip'pus, citizen of Argos, excites a sedition in that city, iii. 343; he becomes tyrant of it, 372; he is killed in a battle, 373; continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, *ibid.*
Ar-is-to-bu'lus I. son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high-priesthood and sovereignty of Judea, iv. 271; he assumes the title of king, *ibid.*; he causes his mother to be put to death, *ibid.*; then his brother Antigonus, *ibid.*; he dies soon after himself, 272.
Ar-is-to-bu'lus II. son of Alexander Jannæus, reigns in Judea, iv. 276; dispute between that prince and Hyrcanus, *ibid.*; Pompey takes cognizance of it, *ibid.*; Aristobolus makes him his enemy, 277; Pompey lays him in chains, 278, and sends him to Rome, 279.
Ar-is-toc'ra-tes, commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginuse, ii. 226.
A-ris-to-de'mus, chief of the Heraclidæ, possesses himself of Peloponnesus, i. 413.
A-ris-to-de'mus, guardian of Agesipolis, king of Sparta, ii. 284.
A-ris-to-de'mus, of Miletus, is left at Athens by Demetrius, iii. 276.
Ar-is-to-g'e'nes, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginuse, ii. 226.
Ar-is-to-gi'ton enters into a conspiracy against the tyrants of Athens, i. 439; his death, *ibid.*; statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, 440.
Ar-is-tom'a-che, sister of Dion, is married to Dionysius the tyrant, ii. 377.
A-ris-tom'a-chus, tyrant of Argos, iii. 372; his death, *ibid.*
Ar-is-tom'e-nes, Messenian, offers his daughter to be sacrificed for appeasing the wrath of the gods, i. 83; he carries the prize of valour at the battle of Ithoma, *ibid.*; he is elected king of the Messenians, *ibid.*; he beats the Lacedæmonians, and sacrifices three hundred of them in honour of Jupiter of Ithoma, *ibid.*; he sacrifices himself soon after upon his daughter's tomb, *ibid.*
Ar-is-tom'e-nes, second of that name, king of Messene, gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, i. 86; bold action of that prince, *ibid.*; he is beaten by the Lacedæmonians, 87; his death 88.

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Ar-is-tom'e-nes, Acarnanian, is charged with the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes, iv. 12; he suppresses a conspiracy formed against that prince, 38; Ptolemy puts him to death, *ibid.*

Ar-ist-on, of Syracuse, comedian, discovers the conspiracy formed by Andranadorus against his country, iv. 323.

Ar-is'ton, pilot, counsel which he gives the Syracusans, ii. 206.

Ar-is'to-na, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius, ii. 9.

Ar-is-to-ni'cus, possesses himself of the dominions of Attalus, iv. 245; he defeats the consul Crassus Mucianus, and takes him prisoner, 246; he is beaten and taken by Perpenna, *ibid.*; the consul sends him to Rome, *ibid.*; he is put to death there, *ibid.*

Ar-is-top'h'a-nes, famous poet, i. 68; character of his poetry, 69; faults with which he may justly be reproached, *ibid.*; extracts from some of his pieces, 68.

Ar-is'to-ph-on, Athenian captain, accuses Iphicrates of treason, iii. 10.

Ar-is-to'tle, Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, iii. 35, 78; his application in forming that prince, 79; suspicious of him in respect to the death of Alexander, 210; fate of his works, iv. 354.

Ar-me-nes, son of Nabis, goes a hostage to Rome iv. 45.

Ar-me'ni-a, province of Asia, i. 28; it was governed by kings, 94, 314, iv. 342.

Arms, those used by the ancients, i. 382.

Ar-phax'ad, name given in the Scriptures to Phraortes.—See Phraortes.

Ar-ri'chi-on, Panceratiast; combat of that Athleta, i. 50.

Ar-sa'ces, son of Darius.—See Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Ar-sa'ces I. governor of Parthia for Antiochus, revolts against that prince, iii. 351; he assumes the title of king, 352.

Ar-sa'ces II. king of Parthia, takes Media from Antiochus, iii. 451; he sustains a war against that prince, *ibid.*; he comes to an accommodation with Antiochus, who leaves him in peaceable possession of his kingdom, 453.

Ar-sa'nes, natural son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is assassinated by his brother Ochus, ii. 462.

Ar'ses, reigns in Persia after the death of Ochus, iii. 26; Bagoas causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.*

Ar-sin'o-e, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, is married to Lysimachus, king of Thrace, iii. 258; after the death of that prince, her brother Ceraunus marries her, 321; unhappy consequences of that marriage, *ibid.*; she is banished into Samothracia, *ibid.*

Ar-sin'o-e, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, iii. 347; death of that princess, 354.

Ar-sin'o-e, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometer, i. 407; her death, 410.

Ar-sin'o-e, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes; Cæsar's sentence in her favour, iv. 391; she is proclaimed queen of Egypt, 392; Cæsar carries her to Rome, and makes her serve as an ornament in his triumph, 395; Antony, at the request of Cleopatra, causes her to be put to death, 396.

Ar-sin'o-e, wife of Magas.—See Apamia.

Ar-si'tes, satrap of Phrygia, occasions the defeat of the Persians at the Granicus, iii. 89; he kills himself through despair, 91.

Art.—See Arts.

Ar-ta-ba'nus, uncle of Phraortes, causes himself to be crowned king of Parthia, and is killed soon after, iv. 250.

Ar-ta-ba'nus, brother of Darius, endeavours to divert that prince from his enterprise against the

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Scythians, ii. 22; he is made arbitrator between the two sons of Darius in respect to the sovereignty, 45; his wise discourse to Xerxes upon that prince's design to attack Greece, 47, &c.

Ar-ta-ba'nus, Hyrcanian, captain of the guards to Xerxes, conspires against that prince, and kills him, ii. 94; he is killed himself by Artaxerxes, *ibid.*

Ar-ta-bar-za'nes, after the death of Darius, disputes the throne of Persia with Xerxes, ii. 45; he continues in amity with his brother, and loses his life in his service at the battle of Salamin, *ibid.*; he was the first who reigned in Pontus, iv. 341.

Ar-ta-bar-za'nes, king of Atropatene, submits to Antiochus, iii. 403.

Ar-ta-ba'zus, Persian lord, officer in the army of Mardonius, ii. 75; his counsel to that general, *ibid.*; he escapes into Asia after the battle of Plataea, 76; Xerxes gives him the command of the coasts of Asia Minor, and with what view, 86; he reduces the Egyptians, who had revolted against Artaxerxes, 106.

Ar-ta-ba'zus, governor of one of the provinces of Asia for Ochus, revolts against that prince, iii. 7; supported by Chares the Athenian, he gains several advantages, 8; he is overpowered, and retires into Macedonia, *ibid.*; Ochus receives him again into favour, 19; his fidelity to Darius, 149; Alexander makes him governor of Petra Oxiana, 169.

Ar-ta-ger'ses, officer of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is killed in the battle of Cunaxa, ii. 252.

Ar-ta-in'ta, niece of Xerxes, ii. 81; violent passion of that prince for her, *ibid.*; fatal sequel of that passion, 82.

Ar-ta-pher'nes, ambassador of Artaxerxes to the Lacedæmonians, ii. 106.

Ar-ta-pher'nes, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, is for compelling the Athenians to reinstate Hippias, i. 442; he marches against the island of Naxos, with design to surprise it, ii. 28; he is besieged in Sardis by the Athenians, 31; he discovers the conspiracy of Hystæus, 52; he marches against the revolted Ionians, *ibid.*

Ar-ta-r'i-us, brother of Artaxerxes Longimanus, ii. 107.

Ar-ta-vas'des, king of Armenia, iv. 284.

Ar-ta-xer'es I. surnamed Longimanus, by the instigation of Artabanus, kills his brother Darius, and ascends the throne of Persia, ii. 94; he rids himself of Artabanus, *ibid.*; he destroys the party of Artabanus, 97; and that of Hystæus his elder brother, *ibid.*; he gives Themistocles refuge, 99; his joy for the arrival of that Athenian, *ibid.*; he first permits Esdras to return to Jerusalem, 108; and then Nehemiah, 109; alarmed by the conquests of the Athenians, he forms the design of sending Themistocles into Attica at the head of an army, 104; Egypt revolts against him, 106; he compels it to return to its obedience, *ibid.*; he gives up Inarus to his mother, contrary to the faith of the treaty, 107; he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 116; he dies, 167.

Ar-ta-xer'es II. surnamed Mnemon, is crowned king of Persia, ii. 237; Cyrus his brother attempts to murder him, 238; he sends him to his government of Asia Minor, *ibid.*; he marches against Cyrus, advancing to delivene him, 250; gives him battle at Cunaxa, *ibid.*; and kills him with his own hand, 253; he cannot force the Greeks in his brother's army to surrender themselves to him, 256; he puts Tissaphernes to death, 279; he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 280; he attacks Evagoras king of Cyprus, 291, &c.; he judges the affair of Tiribastus, 266; his expedition against the Cadusians, 267.

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Ar-ta-xerxes sends an ambassador into Greece to reconcile the states, ii. 442; he receives a deputation from the Greeks, *ibid.*; he vows which he pays to Polopidas, 443; he undertakes to reduce Egypt, 457; that enterprise miscarries, 458; he meditates a second attempt against Egypt, 459; most of the provinces of his empire revolt against him, 461; troubles at the court of Artaxerxes, concerning his successor, 462; death of that prince, *ibid.*

Ar-ta-xerxes III. before called Oclius. See Oclius.

Ar-tax'i-as, king of Armenia, iv. 342.

Ar-tem-i-do'rus, invested with the supreme authority at Syracuse, iv. 309.

Ar-tem'i-sa, queen of Hecarnassas, supplies Xerxes with troops in his expedition against Greece, ii. 56; her courage in the battle of Salamin, 68.

Ar-tem'i-sa, wife of Mausolus, reigns in Caria after the death of her husband, iii. 13; honours she renders to the memory of Mausolus, *ibid.*; she takes Rhodes, 14; her death, 15.

Ar-te-mis'i-um, promontory of Eubœa, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, ii. 63.

Ar-te-mon, Cyprian, part which Queen Laodice makes him play, iii. 357.

Ar-te-mon, engineer, ii. 124.

Ar-tox-a'res, eunuch of Darius Nothus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, ii. 163; he is put to death, *ibid.*

Arts, origin and progress of the arts, i. 383, 389; arts banished out of Sparta by Lycurgus, 429; and placed in honour at Athens by Solon, 435.

Ar-ty-phi-us, son of Megabyzus, revolts against Oclius, ii. 168; he is suffocated in ashes, *ibid.*

A-rus-pi-cœ.—See Augurs.

A-rym-bas, king of Epirus, i. 94, iii. 52.

A'sa, king of Judah, defeats the army of Zara, king of Ethiopia, i. 137.

As'dru-bal, Hamilcar's son-in-law, commands the Carthaginian army in Spain, i. 204; he builds Carthage, *ibid.*; he is killed treacherously by a Gaul, 205.

As'dru-bal, surnamed Calvus, is made prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans, i. 227.

As'dru-bal, Hannibal's brother, commands the army in Spain after his brother's departure, i. 208; he receives orders from Carthage to march to Italy to the aid of his brother, 226; he sets forward and is defeated, *ibid.*; he loses a great battle near the river Metaurus, and is killed in it, 230.

As'dru-bal, Gisco's brother, commands the Carthaginian troops in Spain, i. 228.

As'dru-bal, surnamed Hædus, is sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to demand peace, i. 234.

As'dru-bal, Massinissa's grandson, commands in Carthage during the siege of that city by Scipio, i. 252; another Asdrubal causes him to be put to death, 255.

As'dru-bal, Carthaginian general, is condemned to die, and wherefore, i. 243; the Carthaginians appoint him general of the troops without their walls, 252; he causes another Asdrubal, who commands within the city, to be put to death, 255; his cruelty to the Roman prisoners, *ibid.*; after the taking of the city, he intrenches himself in the temple of Æsculapius, 257; he surrenders himself to Scipio, *ibid.*; tragical end of his wife and children, *ibid.*

Ash'es: Smothering in ashes, a punishment among the Persians, ii. 168.

A'si-a, geographical description of it, i. 27, &c.; it is considered as the nursery of the sciences, 389.

As-mo'ne-an race: Duration of their reign in Judea, iv. 281.

As-pa-si-a, celebrated courtesan, ii. 128; she marries Pericles, *ibid.*; accusation formed against her at Athens, 129.

As'pic, a serpent whose bite is mortal, iv. 405, 409.

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As'pis, governor for Artaxerxes in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia, revolts against that prince, ii. 299; he is punished soon after, *ibid.*

As'sur, son of Sheni, who gave his name to Assyria, i. 273.

As-syr'i-a, origin of its name, i. 273.

As-syr'i-aus. First empire of the Assyrians, i. 271; duration of that empire, *ibid.*; kings of the Assyrians, 272, &c.; second empire of the Assyrians, both of Nineveh and Babylon, 283; subversion of that empire by Cyrus, 335.

As'ter, of Amphipolis, shoots out Philip's right eye, iii. 40; that prince puts him to death, *ibid.*

As-tro'l'o-gy, judicial, fallacies of that science, i. 392, &c.

As-tron'o-my, nations that applied themselves first to it, i. 121, 392.

As-ty'a-ges, king of the Medes, called in Scripture Ahasuerus, i. 298; he gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia, *ibid.*; he causes Cyrus his grandson to come to his court, 309.

As-ty'me-des, deputed to Rome by the Rhodians, endeavours to appease the anger of the senate, iv. 195.

A-s'y'chus, king of Egypt, author of the law concerning loans, i. 136; famous pyramid built by his order, *ibid.*

A'the-as, king of Scythia, is defeated by Philip against whom he had declared, iii. 59.

Ath-e-na'us, general of Antigonus, is sent by that prince against the Nabathæan Arabians, iii. 272; he perishes in that expedition, *ibid.*

Ath-e-na'ia, or Panathenæa, feasts celebrated at Athens, i. 30.

Ath-e-na'us, brother of Eumenes, is sent ambassador by that prince to Rome, iv. 103.

Ath-e-na'us governor for Antiochus in Judea and Samaria, to establish that prince's religion in them, iv. 131.

Ath-e-na'is, daughter of Leontius.—See Eudocia.

A-the'ni on, courtier of Ptolemy Evergetes, goes to Jerusalem by order of that prince, iii. 362.

A'the'ns. Athenians. Foundation of the kingdom of Athens, i. 412; kings of Athens, 413; the Athenians succeed them, 413, 430; Draco is chosen legislator, 430; then Solon, 432; Pisistratus tyrant of that city, 437, &c.; the Athenians recover their liberty, 440; Hippias attempts in vain to re-establish the tyranny, 442; the Athenians in conjunction with the Ionians, burn the city of Sardis, ii. 31; Darius prepares to avenge that insult, *ibid.*; famous Athenian captains at that time, 34; the heralds of Darius are put to death there, 37; the Athenians, under Miltiades, gain a famous victory over the Persians at Marathon, 38; moderate reward granted Miltiades, 42; the Athenians, attacked by Xerxes, choose Themistocles general, 58; they resign the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, 59; they contribute very much to the victory gained at Artemisium, 64; they are reduced to abandon their city, 65; Athens is burned by the Persians, 66; battle of Salamin, in which the Athenians acquire infinite glory, *ibid.*; they abandon their city a second time, 73; the Athenians and Lacedæmonians cut the Persian army to pieces near Platæa, 76; they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 80; they rebuild the walls of their city, 82; the command of the Greeks in general transferred to the Athenians, 87; the Athenians, under Cimón, gain a double victory over the Persians near the river Eurymedon, 103; they support the Egyptians in their revolt against Persia, 106; their considerable losses in that war, 106, 107; seeds of division between Athens and Sparta, 115; peace re-established between the two states, 116; the Athenians gain several victories over the Persians which oblige Artaxerxes to

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De-me-tri-us (Soter), after having been long a hostage at Rome, demands permission to return into Syria, *iv.* 227; he flies from Rome, 230; he ascends the throne of Syria, and receives the surname of Soter from the Babylonians, 231; he makes war against the Jews, *ibid.*; he places Holofernes upon the throne of Cappadocia, 203, 233; the Romans acknowledge him king of Syria, 233; he abandons himself to feasting and voluptuousness, *ibid.*; conspiracy against him, *ibid.*; he endeavours to engage the Jews in his interest, *ibid.*; he is killed in a battle, 234.

De-me-tri-us (Nicator), son of Demetrius Soter, claims the crown of Syria, *iv.* 235; he marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, *ibid.*; he drives Alexander the usurper out of Syria, and remains in quiet possession of the throne, 236; excesses of Demetrius, 237; Jonathan sends him aid against the people of Judæa, *ibid.*; he is

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De-me-tri-us, (Euchares,) is established king of Damascus, *iv.* 261.

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De-moch'-a-res, one of the murderers of Agis, king of Sparta, *iii.* 321.

Dem'o-cles, surnamed the Fair, *iii.* 294; to elude the violence of Demetrius, he throws himself into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, *ibid.*

Dem-o-pnan'tes, general of horse to the Elæans, is killed by Philopœmen, before the city of Elis, *iii.* 435.

De-mos'the-nes is chosen by the Athenians commander of a fleet for the aid of Nicias in Sicily, *ii.* 199, 202; he makes an unsuccessful attempt against Syracuse, 203; he is reduced to surrender at the discretion of the Syracusans, 208; he is put to death, 210.

De-mos'the-nes the orator; abridgment of his life to the time when he begins to appear in the tribunal of harangues, *iii.* 21, &c.; he appears for the first time in public, and encourages the Athenians against the preparations for the war of Artaxerxes, 11; his oration in favour of the Megalopolitans, 12; he speaks for the Rhodians, 13; proposes and occasions the passing of a law for the equipment of fleets, which annuls another very heavy upon the poorer citizens, 25; his discourse in defence of the law that granted exemptions, 27, &c.; upon occasion of Philip's attempt to seize Thermopyla, he harangues the Athenians and animates them against that prince, 42; he is sent ambassador to Philip, 47; his oration upon the peace, 50; that upon the Chersonesus, 51; Demosthenes presses the Athenians to declare for the Lacedæmonians against Philip, 53; his Philippics, 56; his oration to frustrate the effects of Philip's letter to the Athenians, 58; his advice after the taking of Elatea by that prince, 62, &c.; he is sent upon an embassy to Thebes, 63; he flies in the battle of Cheronæa, 65; he is cited to a trial before the people, who acquit him, and do him great honours, 66; Æschines accuses him, 67; generosity of Demosthenes to his accusers, 68; his immoderate joy for Philip's death, 70, 71; Demosthenes animates the people against Alexander, 82; he prevents the Athenians from delivering up the orators to Alexander, 84; Demosthenes suffers himself to be corrupted by Harpalus, 202; he is condemned and banished, *ibid.*; he is recalled from banishment, 232; he quits Athens before the arrival of Antipater, 235; he is condemned to die, *ibid.*; he puts an end to his life by poison, 237; the Athenians erect a statue of brass to him, *ibid.*

Der-cyl'ti-das, surnamed Sisiphus, receives the command of the Lacedæmonian troops in the room of Thymbron, *ii.* 270; he takes Etolia from Midas, who had possessed himself of it by putting his mother-in-law to death, 271; he shuts up the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus, *ibid.*; truce concluded between Dercyllidas, Pharnabazus, and Tissaphernes, 272.

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Di-ce-ar'chus, brother of Thoas, general of the Ætolians. He is deputed by them to Antiochus, iv. 46.

Didas, governor of Pœonia, puts Demetrius to death by order of Philip, iv. 117.

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Dio-cles, an Ætolian, takes Demetrias, iv. 52.

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Di-og'e-nes, a stoic philosopher, is sent on an embassy to Rome by the Athenians, iv. 265.

Di-og-ne'tus, admiral of Antiochus the Great, iii. 406.

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Eu-rys'the-us, king of Mycenæ, famous for the twelve labours which he made Hercules undertake, i. 412.

Eu-ry'ti-on, or Eurypon, king of Sparta, renounces some part of the absolute power of the king, in favour of the people, i. 82.

Eu-thy'e-ra-tes chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into Philip's hands, iii. 46.

Eu-thy'd'e-mus, appointed by the Athenians to command jointly with Nicias, forces that general to engage in a seafight, wherein he is defeated, ii. 202.

Eu-thy'd'e-mus, king of Bactria, makes an honourable peace with Antiochus, who intended to dethrone him, iii. 453.

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Ex-en'te-s, of Agrigentum, victor in the Olympic games, enters that city in triumph, ii. 369.

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Fa'bi-us (Maximus Quintus) is appointed dictator, i. 219; his slow conduct in respect to Hannibal, *ibid.*, &c.; the people give Minucius, general of the horse, equal power with him, 221; Fabius extricates him out of a danger, in which his ill-conduct had engaged him, *ibid.*

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Flac'cus, (L. Valerius,) is elected consul, and marches against Mithridates, iv. 350; he is killed by Fimbria, 352.

Fla-min'i-us (Quintus) he is elected consul, and marches against Philip, king of Macedonia, iv. 19; he gains a first advantage over that prince, 21; different expeditions of Flamininus in Phœcis, 21, 22; he is continued in the command as proconsul, 25; he has an interview with Philip, 26; he gains a great victory over that prince near Scotusa and Cynocephale, 30; and concludes a peace with him, 33; honour and applause which he receives in the Isthmian games, 34; he makes

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Fri-a'i-us, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus, is defeated by Mithridates, iv. 370.

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Gad'a-tes, prince of Assyria, submits to Cyrus, i. 323.

Ga'la, Massinissa's father, joins the Carthaginians against the Romans, i. 245.

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Ge'l'i-as, citizen of Agrigentum, his noble use of riches, ii. 369.

Ge'lon possesses himself of supreme authority at Syracuse, ii. 131; reasons that prevent him from aiding the Greeks when attacked by Xerxes, 57; he defeats Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginians, i. 170; the Syracusans proclaim him king, i. 171, ii. 133; his wise conduct during his reign, *ibid.*, &c.; his death, ii. 134; respect which the Syracusans retained for his memory, ii. 134, 419.

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Go'r'di-on, capital city of Phrygia, famous for the chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied, which Alexander cut, iii. 94.

Go'r'g-as, officer to Antiochus Epiphanes, marches with Nicanor against Judas Maccabeus, iv. 137; his troops are put to flight, 138.

Go'r'gi-das, Athenian, joins Pelopidas to expel the tyrants of Thebes, ii. 420.

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Gy'gis, a female attendant of Parysatis, confesses the poisoning of Statira, and is put to death, ii. 269.

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Ha-mil'car commands the army sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily at the request of Xerxes, i. 170; ii. 50, 131; he is defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, i. 170; ii. 131; his death, i. 170.

Ha-mil'car, son of Gisco, commands the Carthaginian army against Agathocles, and gains a great victory over him, i. 179; he falls into the hands of the Syracusans while besieging their city, and is put to death, 183.

Ha-mil'car, surnamed Barca, general of the Carthaginians, i. 197; boldness and ability of that general, *ibid.*; he commands the army against the mercenaries, 201; and defeats them entirely, 202; he goes to Spain, which he conquers in a short time, 204; he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*

Ha-mil'car, surnamed Rhodanus, a Carthaginian, goes into the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage, i. 184; at his return he is put to death, *ibid.*

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Her-moc-ra-tes, Syracusan, encourages his citizens to defend themselves against the Athenians, *ii.* 193; he is elected general, *ibid.*

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Hi'e-ro-n'y-mus, Hiero's grandson, reigns after him at Syracuse, and by his vices causes him to be much regretted, *iv.* 319, 320; he makes an alliance with Hannibal, 320; he is killed in a conspiracy, 321.

Hi'e-ro-phan'tes, name given to the person who presided at the ceremony of the feast of Eleusis, *i.* 34.

Hi-mil-con, Carthaginian general, comes to Sicily to drive the Romans out of it, *iv.* 329; he perishes there, 331.

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Hip'par-chus, son of Pisistratus, governs at Athens after his father's death, *i.* 439; his taste for literature, *ibid.*; he is killed in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, *ibid.*

Hip'pa-r'i-nus, brother of Dionysius, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and reigns there two years, *ii.* 413.

Hip'i-as, son of Pisistratus, retains the sovereignty after the death of his father, *i.* 439; he finds means to frustrate the conspiracy formed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, *ibid.*; he is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to settle in Phrygia, 440; he takes refuge in Asia with Artaphernes, 442; *ii.* 30; he engages the Persians in the war against the Greeks, and serves them as a guide, 58; he is killed at Marathon, fighting against his country, 40.

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Hip-po-nax, satiric poet, known by his verses against Bupalus and Athenis, *i.* 445.

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Hol-o-fer-nes, the pretended brother of Ariarathes, usurps the throne of Cappadocia, *iv.* 202, 303; he is driven out by Attalus, and retires to Antioch, *ibid.*; he enters into a conspiracy against Demetrius his benefactor, who imprisons him, 303.

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- Hy-pi-cra'tia**, one of the wives of Mithridates: her masculine courage, iv. 374.
- Hy-r-ca'ni-ans**, people in the neighbourhood of Babylonla, subjected by Cyrus, i. 320.
- Hy-r-ca'nus**, son of Joseph, is sent by his father to the court of Alexandria, to compliment the king upon the birth of his son Philometer, iv. 87; he distinguishes himself at the court by his address and magnificence, 88.
- Hy-r-ca'nus**, (John), son of Simon, is declared high-priest and prince of the Jews after his father's death, iv. 247; he is besieged by Antiochus Sides in Jerusalem, *ibid.*; and surrenders by capitulation, *ibid.*: he renders himself absolute and independent, 249; he renews the treaty with the Romans, 251; he augments his power in Judea, 255; he takes Samaria, and demolishes it, 256; he becomes an enemy to the Pharisees, 257; he dies, *ibid.*
- Hy-r-ca'nus**, son of Alexander Jannæus, is made high priest of the Jews, iv. 266, 274; after the death of Alexandra, he takes possession of the throne, 276; he is obliged to submit to Aristobulus his younger brother, *ibid.*: he has recourse to Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, *ibid.*, &c.; he is again dethroned by Pacorus, son of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who causes his ears to be cut off, 280; the Parthians carry him into the east, *ibid.*: he returns to Jerusalem, where Herod puts him to death, *ibid.*
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- I-am'bic**, verse proper for tragedy, i. 67.
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- Ibis**, animal adored by the Egyptians, i. 115, 117.
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- Ich-neu'mon**, animal adored in Egypt, i. 117.
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- Im'il-con**, son of Hanno, is sent lieutenant to Hannibal on his going to command in Sicily, i. 171; he takes Agrigentum, 172; he puts an end to the war by a treaty with Dionysius, *ibid.*; and returns to Carthage, 173; he returns to Sicily at the head of an army, i. 174, ii. 379; the plague spreads in his army, i. 174, ii. 382; he is defeated by Dionysius, leaves his troops to the mercy of the enemy, and retires to Carthage, where he kills himself, i. 175, ii. 383.
- Im-mor'tals**, guards of the Persian kings, so called, i. 382.
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Ju'ba II. son of the former, is led in Cæsar's triumph while an infant, i. 269; Augustus restores him the dominions of his father, *ibid.*; works of learning ascribed to this prince, *ibid.*
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Ju-de'a, region of Syria, called also Palestine, i. 28.

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Ju-gur'tha, Massinissa's grandson, is adopted by Micipsa, and associated with the other children of that prince, i. 263; he seizes the kingdom of Numidia, and puts one of the two princes, his brothers by adoption, to death, *ibid.*; he attacks the second with open force, 266; besieges him in Cirtba, *ibid.*; the Romans declare war against him, 267; Jugurtha frustrates their efforts several times by bribes, *ibid.*; the Romans send Metellus first, and then Marius against him, who both gain many advantages over him, 267, 268; Jugurtha has recourse to Bocchus, his father-in-law, who gives him up to the Romans, 268; he is led in triumph, 269; and afterwards thrown into a deep dungeon, where he perishes miserably, *ibid.*

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Lach'ares, Theban, commands a detachment of the army of Ochus, in that prince's expedition against Egypt, *iii.* 18; he forms the siege of Pelusium, and takes it, *ibid.*

La-co-ni-a, province of Peloponnesus, *i.* 438.

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La-is, a famous courtesan, *ii.* 189.

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Lau'ri-a-chus is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades, in the expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, *ii.* 182; his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 189; he is killed at the siege of Syracuse, 195.

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La'mi-a, city of Thessaly, famous for the victory of the Athenians over Antipater, *iii.* 233.

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La-od'i-ce, daughter of Mithridates, king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, *iii.* 460.

La-od'i-ce, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander Bala, *iv.* 235.

La-od'i-ce, widow of Ariarathes VI., acts as regent during the minority of six princes, her children, *iv.* 303; she poisons five of them, and prepares to do the same by the sixth, *ibid.*; she is put to death by the people, 304.

La-od'i-ce, sister of Mithridates Eupator, marries first Ariarathes VII., king of Cappadocia, and afterwards Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, *iv.* 364; part which he makes her act at Rome, before the senate, 304, 341.

La-om'e-don, one of Alexander's captains; provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 229; he is dispossessed of them by Nicanor, who takes him prisoner, 246.

La-ran'da, city of Pisidia, revolts against Perdiccas, *iii.* 241; tragical end of that city, *ibid.*

La-ris'sa, city of Thessaly, *i.* 408.

Las'the-nes, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into the hands of Philip, *iii.* 46.

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Le-gis-la'tors, famous ones of Antiquity; Draco, *i.* 430, &c. 431; Solon, *ibid.*; Lycurgus, 417; Charondas, *ii.* 141; Zaleucus, 142.

Le'lex, first king of Lacedæmonia, *i.* 413.

Len-tis'cus, son of Ptolemy, is taken prisoner by Demetrius, and sent back to his father by that prince, *iii.* 281.

Len-tu'lus is sent to Thebes by the Romans, to watch over Ætolia, during the war with Perseus, *iv.* 157.

Len-tu'lus, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne, *iv.* 384; he is prevented from executing that commission by a pretended oracle of the Sibyls, 385.

Le'on, Corinthian, defends the citadel of Syracuse against Ictas and the Carthaginians, *ii.* 417.

Le'on, Athenian, is sent deputy with Timagoras to the court of Persia, and accuses his colleague at his return, *ii.* 442, 443.

Le-o-na'tis, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 229; he marches to the aid of Antipater besieged in Lamia, 233; he is killed in battle, *ibid.*

Le-on'i-das, governor of Alexander, *iii.* 78.

Le-on'i-das I., king of Sparta, defends the pass of Thermopyla with unparalleled bravery, against the innumerable army of Xerxes, *ii.* 60; he is killed there, 61; the Lacedæmonians erect him a magnificent monument, 62.

Le-on'i-das II., reigns at Sparta jointly with Agis, *iii.* 374; he opposes the design of that prince, 377; he is divested of the sovereignty, 378; he escapes to Tegenæ, *ibid.*; he is recalled and replaced upon the throne, 380; he lays snares for Agis, 381; and puts him to death, 382; he obliges the wife of that prince to marry his son Cleomenes, 383; death of Leonidas, 384; his character, 374.

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- Le-on'ti-des**, polemarch of Thebes, puts the citadel of that place into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, ii. 424; he imprisons Ismenius, who was his opponent, *ibid.*; he sends persons to Athens to assassinate the principal exiles, 427; Pelopidas, at the head of the conspirators, kills him, 430.
- Le-on'ti-um**, city of Sicily, ii. 181.
- Le-on'ti-us**, Philip's general, insults Aratus grossly at a feast, iii. 423; he is security for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the same account, *ibid.*; Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 425.
- Le-os'th-nes**, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Macedonian yoke, iii. 231; he is placed at the head of the Greeks allied against Antipater, *ibid.*; his glorious exploits, 233; he receives a wound at the siege of Lamia, and dies soon after, 234.
- Le-o-tych'i-des**, king of Lacedæmonia, in conjunction with Xanthippus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Persians near Mycale, ii. 30.
- Le-o-tych'i-des**, son of Timea, wife of Agis, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, *ib.* 190, 272.
- Lep'ti-nus**, brother of Dionysius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians with the fleet under his command, ii. 380; he is banished, 388; soon after recalled, and marries the daughter of Dionysius, *ibid.*; he kills Calippus, Dion's murderer, 410; he surrenders himself to Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 419.
- Lep'ti-nus**, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, iv. 230; Demetrius delivers him up to the senate, 232.
- Lep'ti-nus**, Syracusan, Hiero's father-in-law, iv. 310.
- Les'bos**, island of Crete, i. 409; revolt of that island against the Athenians, ii. 156; the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 159.
- Let'ters**: invention of letters brought into Greece by Cadmus, i. 134.
- Leu'con**, king in the Bosphorus; mutual generosity between that prince and the Athenians, iii. 27.
- Leu'tra**, small town of Bœotia, famous for the victory of the Thebans over the Lacedæmonians, ii. 435.
- Leu-tych'i-des** is elected king of Sparta in the room of Demaratus, ii. 37.
- Le-y'i-nus**, Roman consul, defeated by Pyrrhus, iii. 331.
- Le-y'i-nus**, (M. Valerius) is sent into Greece and Macedonia, in quality of prætor, to oppose the enterprises of Philip, iii. 432; enemies he excites against that prince, *ibid.*, &c.
- Li'bra-ry**: famous libraries of antiquity; at Alexandria, i. 110, iii. 399, 310; at Athens, i. 439; at Pergamus, iv. 203.
- Lib'y-a**, part of Africa, iv. 266; war of Libya, or of the mercenaries, 197.
- Li-cin'i-us**, consul, is sent into Macedonia against Perseus, iv. 153, 157; he encamps near the river Peneus, 159; is defeated in a battle, 169, &c.; and afterwards gains some advantages over Perseus, 164.
- Li-cin'i-us**, (C.) the consul's brother, commands the Italian cavalry in his brother's army, iv. 160.
- Light-house** of Alexandria, i. 109.
- Lig'o-ras**, one of the generals of Antiochus the Great, makes that prince master of the city of Sardis, iii. 409.
- Li-gu'ri-a**, province of Italy, iv. 205; its inhabitants subjected to the Marseillians by the Romans, *ibid.*
- Li-ly bæ-um**, city of Sicily, besieged by the Romans, i. 194.
- Lines** of circumvallation and contravallation used among the ancients, ii. 155.
- Lion'ces**, Irena, or Leona, name of a courtesan.

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- Lis'sus**, city of Illyria: siege and taking of that city by Philip, iii. 452.
- Liv'i-us**, consul, is sent into Cisalpine Gaul to oppose the entrance of Asdrubal into Italy, i. 229; he defeats that general in a great battle, 230.
- Loans**: law concerning them among the Egyptians, i. 113; in what manner such as lived upon borrowing were considered among the Persians, i. 375.
- Lo'tus**, an Egyptian plant of which they made bread, i. 125, 126.
- Love**: care of the ancients to avoid admitting any thing into their dramatic poems relating to love, i. 66; conjugal love, model of it, iii. 380.
- Lu-cre'ti-us**, prætor, commands the Roman fleet sent against Perseus, iii. 157; he besieges Hæsturtus, a city of Bœotia, and takes and demolishes it entirely, iv. 164.
- Lu-cul'lus** commands the Roman fleet sent against Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, iv. 351; he is elected consul, and charged with the war against Mithridates, 357; he obliges that prince to raise the siege of Cyzicum, 358; and defeats his troops, 358, 359; he gains a complete victory over him, 359; and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes king of Armenia, 361; he sends an ambassador to command Mithridates, *ibid.*; he regulates the affairs of Asia, *ibid.*, &c.; he declares war against Tigranes, 362; he besieges Tigranocerta, 364; he gains a great victory over Tigranes, 366; and takes Tigranocerta, *ibid.*; he gains a second victory over the joint forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 369; his army refuses to obey him, *ibid.*; Pompey is sent to command in his stead, 371; Lucullus returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, 373; his character, 371; means which he used for acquiring the knowledge of the art of war, 351.
- Lu-si-ta'ni-a**, part of the ancient Spain, i. 167.
- Lu-ta'ti-us**, consul, defeats the fleet of the Carthaginians, and puts an end by that victory to the Punic war, i. 196.
- Lux'u-ry**: fatal effects of luxury among the ancients, ii. 400, &c.; almost always attended with the ruin of states, 401.
- Ly'ci-a**, province of Asia Minor, i. 28; it is declared free by the Romans, iv. 197.
- Ly'ci-das**, Athenian, is for having the proposal of Mardonius heard, ii. 73; he is stoned, *ibid.*
- Ly-cis'tus**, deputy from the Acarnanians, endeavours to engage the Lacedæmonians in Philip's party, iii. 433.
- Ly-cis'tus**, Ætolian, is accused of having treated those with great cruelty, who would not espouse the Romans against Perseus, iv. 198; P. Æmilius acquits him, *ibid.*
- Ly'con**, Athenian commander of the Grecian troops in the army of Pisuthnes, is brought into the views of Tissaphernes, whom he joins, ii. 163, &c.
- Ly-cur'tas**, Polybius' father, is sent ambassador by the Achæans to Ptolemy Epiphanes, iv. 87; he is elected general of the Achæans, and avenges Philopomen's death, 97; he is deputed a second time to Ptolemy, 103.
- Ly-cur'gus**, son of Eunonius, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to Charilaus his nephew, i. 417; endeavours to reform the government of Sparta, and makes several voyages with that view, *ibid.*; on his return he changes the form of the government, 418; he goes to Delphos to consult the oracle, and dies voluntarily by abstaining from food, 423; reflections upon Lycurgus' death, 424.
- Ly-cur'gus**, Spartan, corrupts the ephori, and causes himself to be elected king of Sparta, iii. 415.

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- Lyd'i-a**, country of Asia Minor, i. 28; king of Lydia, i. 299; it is subjected by Cyrus, i. 332; the manner in which the Lydians contracted alliances, i. 297.
- Lyn-c'e-us**, king of Argos, i. 412.
- Lyn-c'es-tes** Alexander, is convicted of a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and put to death iii. 160.
- Ly-san'der** is appointed admiral by the Lacedæmonians, ii. 222; he became very powerful with Cyrus the younger, 223; he beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, *ibid.*; his envy of Callicratidas, sent to succeed him, 224; he commands the fleet of the Lacedæmonians a second time, 230; and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos, 232; he takes Athens, 233; and entirely changes the form of the government, 234; he returns to Sparta, and sends thither before him all the gold and silver taken from the enemy, *ibid.*; he is sent to Athens to re-establish the thirty tyrants, 241; he strangely abuses his power, 245; he suffers the Grecian cities in Asia Minor to consecrate altars to him, *ibid.*; upon the complaint of Pharnabazus he is recalled to Sparta, 246; Lysander accompanies Agesilaus into Asia, 275; he quarrels with him, 276; and returns to Sparta, 277; his ambitious designs for changing the succession to the throne, *ibid.*; he is killed before Haliartus, which he was going to besiege, 283; some time after his death, the plot he had formed against the two kings is discovered, 288; Lysander's character, 223, 225; he is elected one of the ephori at Sparta by the favour of Agis, iii. 376; he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, 377.
- Ly-san'dra**, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocleus of Lysimachus, iii. 318: after the murder of her husband she retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war against Lysimachus, *ibid.*
- Ly-si'a-des**, tyrant of Megalopolis, renounces his power upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league, iii. 773; the Achæans make him their captain-general three times successively, and then expel him, 374; he is killed in battle, 385.
- Lys'i-as**, kinsman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor, by that prince, of part of his dominions, and preceptor to Antiochus Epiphanes, iv. 136; Antiochus gives him the command of the army against the Jews, 137; he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 139; he possesses himself of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, 225; the government of Cœlosyria and Palestine is given to him, *ibid.*; he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, 226; he makes peace with the Jews, 227; he is delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 231.
- Lys'i-as**, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the islands Arginæ, and at his return was condemned to die, ii. 226, 229.
- Lys'i-as** of Syracuse, Greek orator, goes to settle at Thurium, ii. 141; he raises five hundred men to aid the Athenians against the tyrants, 243; he carries Socrates' discourse for his defence, 314; character of Lysias' style, 315.
- Lys'i-cles** commands the Athenian army at Chæronea and is defeated by Philip, iii. 364.
- Ly-si-ma'chi-a**, a city of Thrace, iv. 37.
- Ly-sim'a-chus**, one of Alexander's captains; provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, iii. 229; he enters into a league with Ptolemy Seleucus and Cassander against Antigonus, 267; treaty of peace between those princes, which is

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- Ly-sim'a-chus**, Alexander's preceptor, accompanies that prince in his expeditions, iii. 113.
- Ly-si-me'li-a**, a marsh near Syracuse, i. 191.
- Ly-sis'tra-ta**, comedy of Aristophanes: extract from it, i. 69.
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- Ma-ce-do'ni-a**, Macedonians, kingdom of Greece, i. 408; origin of the Macedonians, 410; commencement of their empire, 414; kings before Philip, iii. 30; reign of Philip, 32, &c.; of his son Alexander, 82; Alexander's successors who reigned in Macedonia: Cassander, 296; Philip his son, 299; Demetrius Poliorcetes, 302; Pyrrhus, 303; Lysimachus, 305; Seleucus, 319; Ptolemy Ceraunus, 320; Sosthenus, 322; Antigonus Gonatus, 324; Demetrius son of Antigonus, 360; Antigonus Doson, 363; Philip son of Demetrius, 397; Perseus, iv. 119; Macedonia is declared free by the Romans, iv. 190; and some time after reduced into a Roman province, 210.
- Ma-chan'i-das** becomes tyrant of Sparta, iii. 434; endeavours to subject Peloponnesus, 447; Philopomen marches against him, *ibid.*; Machandidas is defeated and killed in battle, 449.
- Ma-da'thes**, governor of the country of the Uxilor Darius, refuses to surrender to Alexander, iii. 144; that prince subdues and forgives him, *ibid.*
- Ma-ce'na's**, favourite of Augustus, and patron of the learned, ii. 136.
- Ma'gas**, governor of Cyrenæa and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus, and causes himself to be declared king of those provinces, iii. 348; he causes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince, and dies during the negotiation, 351.
- Ma'gas** put to death by his brother Ptolemy Philopator, iii. 405.
- Ma'gi**, directors of the worship of the Persians, i. 396; their religion, 397.
- Ma'gis'trate**, duty of a magistrate, iv. 337.
- Mag-ne'si-a**, city of Caria in Asia Minor, i. 28; Artaxerxes gives the revenues of it to Themistocles, ii. 100.
- Ma'go**, Carthaginian general, is sent into Sicily to make war against Dionysius the elder, ii. 379; after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 383; loses his life in battle, i. 176.
- Ma'go**, the former's son, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionysius the elder, i. 176; the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the younger, 177; he shamefully abandons the conquest of Sicily, *ibid.*; he returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, ii. 418.
- Ma'go**, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus, i. 184; he goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, *ibid.*, 185.
- Ma'go**, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ to Carthage, i. 224.
- Ma'go**, Carthaginian general, taken prisoner in Sardinia, i. 227.
- Ma-go'sa**, city of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, iii. 180.
- Ma-ha'lal**, Carthaginian officer, advises Hannibal

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- to march directly to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, i. 223.
- Ma-hou'et: vulgar report concerning his tomb, iii. 355.
- Mal'li, people of India, their war with Alexander, ii. 192; they submit to that prince, 193.
- Ma-mer'tines, people originally of Italy, seize Mes-senia, i. 186; defeated by Pyrrhus, iii. 337; a division among them occasions the first Punic war, i. 186, iv. 311.
- Ma-nas'seli, king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Esarhaddon, and carried captive to Babylon, i. 286; obtains his liberty and returns to Jerusalem, *ibid.*
- Ma-ni'us (L.) the consul, Piso's lieutenant, en-gages rashly in a post, from whence Scipio hap-pily extricates him, i. 254.
- Man-da-na, daughter of Astyages king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyses king of Per-sia, i. 308; she goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 309; she returns into Persia, 311.
- Man-da-nis, an Indian philosopher, refuses to ac-company Alexander, iii. 189.
- Man-dro'li-des, young Spartan, supports the party of Lysander the ephorus, through zeal for the public good, iii. 377.
- Ma-ne'thon, Egyptian priest, author of the history of the Dynasties of Egypt, i. 128.
- Ma-ni-a, wife of Zenis, governs Æolia, after the death of her husband, with admirable conduct, ii. 270; she is assassinated, with her son, by Mi-dias her son-in-law, 271.
- Ma-ni'f-i-us (M.) consul, is sent against Carthage in the beginning of the third Punic war, i. 249.
- Ma-ni'f-i-us, tribune of the people, prepares a de-crete for appointing Pompey to command the ar-mies against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, iv. 394, 395.
- Ma-ni-us (Curius,) consul, defeats Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, iii. 329.
- Ma-ni-us (Aquilus,) consul, ends the war with Aristonicus, iv. 246; and enters Rome in tri-umph, *ibid.*
- Man'li-us (L.) is appointed consul with Regulus, i. 183; they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians near Ecnome in Sicily, *ibid.*; they go to Africa, *ibid.*; Manlius is recalled, *ibid.*
- Man-ti-ne'a, city of Arcadia, famous for the vic-tory of Epaminondas over the Lacedæmonians, and for that of Philopemen over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta, iii. 447.
- Mar-a-can'da, capital of Sogdiana, submits to Al-alexander, iii. 163.
- Mar-a-thon, small city of Attica, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Persians, ii. 238.
- Mar-cell'us (M.) consul, is sent into Sicily to ap-pease the troubles there, iv. 324; actions of Mar-cellus in Sicily, 325; he forms the siege of Syra-cuse, 326; the considerable loss of men and ships by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, obliges him to turn the siege into a blockade, 328; he undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 329; he makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in it, 336; he abandons the city to be plundered, 333; honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, *ibid.*; Marcellus, at first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, i. 227.
- Mar-ci-us (L.) Roman knight, preserves Spain by his valour, i. 223.
- Mar-ci-us, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perseus near the river Peneus, iv. 154; he returns to Rome, 155; he is sent again into Greece, to regulate affairs there, 156.
- Mar-cl'us (Philippus Q.) consul, charged with the war against Perseus, iv. 166; advances toward

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- Macedonia, *ibid.*; which he penetrates into, and takes several cities there, 168, &c.
- Mar-do'ni-us, son-in-law of Darius, enters Mac-e-donia, ii. 33; his ill success obliges Darius to recall him, *ibid.* persuades Xerxes to invade Greece, 47; Xerxes chooses him one of his gene-rals, 55; and leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 69; makes advantageous offers to the Athenians, 72; enters Athens and burns it, *ibid.*; defeated and killed at Plataeæ, 76.
- Mare of Phidolas, i. 57.
- Ma-ro-næ'a, city of Thrace; cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, iv. 93.
- Mar'i-ages, laws concerning them instituted at Athens and Sparta, i. 435.
- Ma-ri-am-ne, marries Herod the Idumæan, iv. 280.
- Ma'ri-us, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed gen-eral, for terminating the war with Jugurtha, i. 269, whom he gets into his hands, and makes an ornament at his triumph, *ibid.*
- Ma'ri-us (M.) sent to the aid of Mithridates, iv. 356; taken by Lucullus, and put to death, 358.
- Mar'sei-li-ans: their embassy to Rome, iv. 205; their origin, *ibid.*; they settle in Gaul, *ibid.*; wis-dom of their government, 206, 207; attachment to the Romans, 208; obtain grace for Phocæa, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 246.
- Mas-i-nis'sa, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 231, 247; aids the Romans against Perseus, iv. 153; marries Sophonisba, and poisons her, i. 245; con-tests between him and the Carthaginians, whom he defeats in battle, *ibid.*; at his death appoints Scipio Æmilianus guardian of his children, 325.
- Ma-sis'tus, son of Darius and Atossa, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, ii. 56; tragical death of him and his children, 82.
- Mas-si-va, Numidian prince, is murdered in the midst of Rome by Jugurtha's orders, i. 267.
- Mas-tan'a-bal, Mas'nissa's son, shares the kingdom of Numidia with his two brothers, i. 264.
- Mat-ta-uf'ah is placed upon the throne of Judah in the room of his nephew Jechoniah, i. 289.
- Mat-ta-thi'as, Jew, refuses to obey Antiochus, iv. 132; retires with his family to avoid the persecu-tion, *ibid.*; his death, 135.
- Ma'tho, in concert with Spendius, causes the mer-cenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 199; he is placed at their head, *ibid.*; takes Han-nibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 201; taken by the Car-thaginians and executed, 202.
- Ma'to-solus, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, ii. 461; he subjects the Rho-dians, and the people of Cos, iii. 13; his death honours paid to his memory by his wife, *ibid.*
- Ma-zæ'us, governor of Memphis for Darius, aban-dons that city to Alexander, iii. 129; commands the horse for Darius at the battle of Arbela, 138 surrenders himself and the city of Babylon to Alexander, 140; who gives him the government of Babylonia, 141.
- Maz'rus, Macedonian lord, is appointed governor of the citadel of Susa by Alexander, iii. 143.
- Meals: public ones instituted at Crete and Sparta, i. 419, ii. 337.
- Me-de'a, her means to escape the pursuit of her father, iv. 359, &c.
- Medes, ancient people of Asia, inhabiting Media, i. 282; history of the kingdom of the Medes, 283, 294; empires of the Medes and Persians united, i. 350; revolt of the Medes against Darius No-thus, ii. 170; that prince obliges them to return to their duty, *ibid.*; manners of the Medes, i. 309; manner in which they contracted alliances, 297.
- Me'di-a, kingdom of Upper or Greater Asia, i. 277 description of that kingdom by Polybius, iii. 459

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Med'i-cine: origin and antiquity of medicine, i. 390.

Me'don, son of Codrus, is placed at the head of the common people of Athens, under the title of archon, i. 413.

Me-ga-ba'tes, noble Persian, occasions the miscarriage of the enterprise of the Persians against Naxos, through jealousy of Aristagoras, ii. 29.

Me-ga-by'zus, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Hystæus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, ii. 26; he sends deputies to demand earth and water of Amyntas, 27; insolence of those deputies at the court of Amyntas, and revenge taken of them by the sons of that prince, ibid.

Me-ga-by'zus, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals in the army of Xerxes, ii. 56; discovers the plot formed by Artabanes against Artaxerxes, 204; charged with the war against the Egyptians, 106; whom he subjects, and promises to spare their lives, 107; in despair on seeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, ibid.; defeats two armies sent against him, ibid.; restored to favour, and returns to court, 108; Artaxerxes's jealousy of Megabyzus at a hunting-match, ibid.; death of Megabyzus, ibid.

Meg-a-cles, son of Alcmaeon, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, i. 437; his marriage with Agorista, daughter of Clisthenes, ibid.; drives Pisistratus out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 438; he is obliged to quit Athens, ibid.

Meg-a-cles, friend of Pyrrhus, iii. 329; that prince in a battle gives his mantle and arms to Megacles, and disguises himself in his, 330. Megacles is wounded and unhorsed in the battle, ibid.

Me-ga-da'tes is appointed viceroy of Syria by Tigranes, and governs that kingdom fourteen years, iv. 262; Tigranes calls him from thence, 369.

Me-ga-le-as, Philip's general, devotes himself to Apelles, that prince's minister, iii. 419, 424; he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 423; Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty, ibid.; his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 424; he kills himself to avoid a trial, and the execution of sentence against him, 426.

Me-ga-ro-po'-lis, city of Arcadia, iii. 373; Aratus makes it enter into the Achæan league, ibid.

Me-ga-ra, city of Achaia, i. 415, joins the Achæan league, iii. 371.

Me-ga-ra, name of one of the quarters of the city of Carthage, i. 254.

Me-gis-to'-nes, Lacedæmonian captain, is sent to the aid of Argos, where he is killed, iii. 389.

Me-li'tus, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, ii. 314; success of that accusation, he is condemned to die, 319.

Me'lon, Theban, is appointed Bœotarch with Pelopidas and Charon, ii. 430.

Men'non, Rhodian, reinstated in the favour of Ochus, against whom he had taken arms, iii. 19; advises Darius' generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, 89; defends Miletus, and Haliarnassus against Alexander, 92; he transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, 93; he advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 94; that prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, ibid.; Memnon besieges Mytelene, and dies before that place, 95.

Men'non. **Memnon's** statue in Thebais: wonder related of it, i. 98.

Mem'phis, city of Egypt; its foundation, i. 130; taken by Cambyzes, 361, and afterwards by Alexander, iii. 129.

Mem'phi-tis, son of Physcon and Cleopatra, is murdered by his father, cut in pieces, and sent to his mother, iv. 250.

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Me-nan'der, Athenian, colleague to Nicias in Sicily, ii. 199, whom he forces to engage in a seafight, in which he is worsted, 200, &c.; partly the cause of the Athenian's defeat near Egospotamos, 202.

Me-nan'der, comic poet; change which he introduced into comedy, i. 71.

Me-nan'der, one of Alexander's captains; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iii. 229.

Men'des, city of Egypt, ii. 260; a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebis, ibid.; but is defeated by Agesilaus, ibid.

Me-nec'-ra'-tes, ridiculous vanity of that physician, iii. 72.

Me-ne-la'us, Ptolemy's brother, is defeated by Demetrius, and obliged to retire into Salamin, iii. 280, to whom he surrenders at discretion, and is released without ransom, 281.

Me-ne-la'us supplants his brother Jason, high-priest of the Jews, iv. 123; Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, 125; reinstated by Antiochus, 126.

Me'nes, or Misraim, first king of Egypt, i. 129.

Me'non commands the Thessalian troops of Cyrus' army in the expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, ii. 248; seized with other Greek generals by treachery, and put to death, 259; his character, 260.

Me'to'-stanes, nephew of Artaxerxes Longimanus, defeated by Megabyzus, ii. 107.

Men'tor, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebis into Phœnicia to support the rebels there, iii. 15; confounded on the approach of Ochus, 17; he puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, ibid.; Ochus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, 18; Mentor's actions in Egypt, 19; Ochus makes him governor of all the coast of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, ibid.; Mentor's conduct in his government, ibid.

Me-ny'lus commands the Macedonian garrison in Mynychia, iii. 236; deprived of it by Cassander, 249.

Mer-ce-na'ries; their war with the Carthaginians, i. 197.

Mer'ci-us, Spaniard, delivers up one of the gates of Syracuse to Marcellus in the night, iv. 333.

Mer'cu-ry, to whom Egypt was indebted for most of their arts, i. 131, 132.

Mern'a'-des, race of kings of Lydia, i. 299.

Me-ro'-dach-Bal'a'-dan, king of Babylon, sent to congratulate Hezekiah upon his recovery, i. 284.

Me-ro'-e, daughter of Oyrus, and wife of her brother Cambyzes, i. 363; her tragical death, 364.

Me-sa-ba'tes, eunuch, cuts off the head and hand of Cyrus the Younger, ii. 253; punishment inflicted on him by Parysatis, 269.

Mes-se'-ni-a, part of Peloponnesus, i. 83.

Mes-se'-ni-ans; first war with the Lacedæmonians i. 83; whom they defeat near Ithoma, 84; they submit to the Lacedæmonians, ibid.; second war with the Lacedæmonians, 86; are at first victorious, ibid.; then defeated, 87; and entirely reduced to the condition of the Helots, 88; reinstated by the Thebans, ii. 439; troubles between the Messenians and Achæans, iv. 96; the Messenians put Philopomen to death, 97; subjected by the Achæans, ibid.; fault of the Messenians, which occasioned all their misfortunes, ii. 440.

Mes-si'na, or **Mes-sa'na**, city of Sicily, i. 186, ii. 181.

Me-tel'us (L.) consul, commands against Jugurtha, i. 267; supplanted by Marius, 268; enters Rome in triumph, ibid.

Me-tel'us, (Q. Cæcilius) Roman prætor, defeats Andronicus, iv. 210, and sends him to Rome, ibid.; routs another adventurer, named Alexander, ibid.

Me-tho'ne, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, iii. 40.

Me'thon, astronomer, counterfeits the madman ii. 181.

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Mi-ro-do'rus, of Scepsis, ambassador to Tigranes, v. 363; Mithridates puts him to death, 364.

Met-ro-do'rus, Athenian painter and philosopher, given to Æmilius as a tutor to his sons, iv. 189.

Mi-cip'sa succeeds his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia, i. 264; adopts Jugurtha his nephew, and makes him co-heir with the rest of his children, 265; his death, *ibid.*

Mic'y-thus, guardian of the children of Anaxilaus; prudence of his administration, ii. 137.

Mid'i-as, son-in-law of Mania, assassinates his mother-in-law and her son, in order to possess himself of her riches and government, ii. 271; he is deprived of them by Dercyllidas, *ibid.*

Mi-le'tus, city of Ionia, ii. 32: cruelties committed there by Lysander, ii. 145; besieged his taken by Alexander, iii. 92.

Mi'lo, champion of Crotona, defeats the Sybarites, ii. 140; the extraordinary strength and voracity, of that combatant, 143; and death, 144.

Mil-tho'cy-tes, Thracian, after the battle of Cunaxa, surrenders himself to Artaxerxes, ii. 256.

Mil-ti'a-des, Athenian tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made them, ii. 25; an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whither he returns soon after, 27; he settles at Athens, 34; he commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 40; moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 42; he sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and is unsuccessful in the isle of Pharos, *ibid.*; he is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, *ibid.*; not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, *ibid.*

Min-da-rus, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in a battle by Alcibiades, ii. 219.

Mi-ner'va, goddess, i. 30; feast at Athens in honour of her, *ibid.*

Mines; product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, i. 157.

Min'is-ter; wise lessons for one, i. 438, ii. 250, 377.

Mi'nos, first king of Crete, ii. 336; laws instituted by him in his kingdom, 337; hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 340; cause of that hatred, *ibid.*

Mi-nu'ci-us (M.) is appointed master of horse to Fabius, i. 219; he gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians in that dictator's absence, which procures him equal authority with the dictator, 221; engages with disadvantages, out of which Fabius extricates him, *ibid.*; he acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, *ibid.*; he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 223.

Mis'a-el, one of the three young Hebrews preserved miraculously in the furnace, i. 289.

Mi'thras, name given the sun by the Persians, ii. 240.

Mith-ri-da'tes I. king of Pontus, i. 93; that prince submits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, iii. 93.

Mith-ri-da'tes II. king of Pontus, escapes to avoid the rage of Antigonus, i. 93.

Mith-ri-da'tes III. king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, i. 93.

Mith-ri-da'tes IV. king of Pontus, i. 93.

Mith-ri-da'tes V. surnamed Evergetes, king of Pontus, aids the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 93; the Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, iv. 246; his death, 252.

Mith-ri-da'tes VI. surnamed Eupator, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. 93, iv. 252, 341; the Romans take Phrygia from him, *ibid.*; he possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, 342; he gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, *ibid.*; open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans 343; that prince gains some advantages over the Romans, 344; he causes all the Romans

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and Italians in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day, *ibid.*; he makes himself master of Athens 345; two of his generals are defeated by Sylla 349; and himself by Fimbria, 351; his fleet is also twice beaten, *ibid.*; he has an interview with Sylla, and concludes peace with the Romans, 353; second war of the Romans with Mithridates under Murena, 355; it continues only three years, *ibid.*; he makes a treaty with Sertorius, 356; he prepares to renew the war with the Romans, *ibid.*; he seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, 357; the Romans send Lucullus and Cotta against him, *ibid.*; Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, *ibid.*; he forms the siege of Cyzicum, *ibid.*; Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 358; he takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, 359; he is entirely defeated, and obliged to fly, *ibid.*; he sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, 360; he retires to Tigranes his son-in-law, 361; Tigranes sends him back into Pontus to raise troops, 364; he endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat, 366; those two princes apply in concert to raising new forces, 367; they are defeated by Lucullus, 369; taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, he recovers all his dominions, 370; he is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 374; he endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes his son-in-law, 375; he retires into the Bosphorus, 377; he puts his son Niphates to death, 378; he makes proposals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, 379; he forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, *ibid.*; Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 380; character of Mithridates, *ibid.*

Mith-ri-da'tes I. king of the Parthians, defeats Demetrius, and takes him prisoner, iv. 240; he carries that prince into his kingdom, and gives him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage, 249.

Mith-ri-da'tes II. surnamed the Great, ascends the throne of Parthia, iv. 250; he re-establishes Antiochus Eusebes, 261; he sends an ambassador to Sylla to make an alliance with the Romans, 283; his death, *ibid.*

Mith-ri-da'tes III. king of Parthia, iv. 284; Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, *ibid.*

Mith-ri-da'tes, Persian lord, boasts of having given Cyrus the Younger his mortal wound, ii. 253; Parysatis causes him to be put to death, 268.

Mith-ri-da'tes, eunuch and great chamberlain of Xerxes, makes himself an accomplice in the murder of that prince, ii. 94; he is put to death by the punishment of the troughs, 97.

Mith-ri-da'tes of Pergamus brings troops to Caesar in Egypt, iv. 392.

Mith-ro-bar-za'nes, favourite of Tigranes is sent against Lucullus, iv. 364; himself and his troops are cut to pieces, *ibid.*

Mit-y-lene, capital of the isle of Lesbos, i. 409; that city is taken by the Athenians, ii. 159.

Mna-sip'pus is sent with a fleet by the Lacedæmonians to retake Coreyra from the Athenians, ii. 432; he is killed in a battle, *ibid.*

Mnas-ki'res; king of the Parthians, iv. 284.

Mne'vis, name of the ox adored in Egypt, i. 109.

Mod'es-ty; traces of it among the ancients, i. 299; it was absolutely neglected at Sparta, i. 429.

Mo'ris, king of Egypt, i. 130; famous lake made by him, 102.

Mo'loch, name given Saturn in Scripture, i. 151.

Mo'lo is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, iii. 400; he makes himself sovereign in his province, *ibid.*; but being defeated, he kills himself in despair, 403.

Mon'ar-chy; original design of monarchy, i. 994; the best form of government, i. 368.

Mon'i-ma of Ionia; Mithridates carries her with him in his train, iv. 344; she marries that prince, 369; tragical death of that princess, *ibid.*

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Mon'u-ments erected by the ancients for those who died for their country, ii. 41, 61; what kind of monuments the most durable, 134.

Mo-ty'a, city of Sicily, i. 169.

Mum'mies, of Egypt, i. 119.

Mum'mi-us, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, iv. 212; defeats the Achæans, 214; takes Corinth, and demolishes it, *ibid*; preserves the statue of Philopemen, 216; his disinterestedness, *ibid*; enters Rome in triumph, 217; goes on an embassy into Egypt, Asia, and Greece, 243.

Mu-re'na commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronæa, iv. 349; Sylla, on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Asia, 354; he makes war against Mithridates, 355; and is defeated, *ibid*; but receives the honour of a triumph, *ibid*.

Mu-sæ'um: academy of the learned, instituted under that name at Alexandria, iii. 308; description of that building called Museum, 309.

Mu-si-can'us, Indian prince; subjected by Alexander, iii. 195.

Mu'sic: to what perfection carried by the ancients, i. 389; considered by the Greeks an essential part in the education of youth, ii. 352; theatre of music at Athens, ii. 119; prize of music instituted at the feast of Panathenea by Pericles, i. 31.

Myc'a-le, promontory of Ionia, where the Greeks obtain a famous victory over the Persians, ii. 80.

Myc-e'næ, city of Argos, i. 412; kings of Mycenæ, *ibid*.

Myc-e-ri'nus, king of Egypt, i. 136; mildness of his reign, *ibid*.

Myr'on, Athenian sculptor, i. 50.

My-ron'i-des, general of the Athenians, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Boeotia, ii. 115.

Myr'to, supposed second wife of Socrates, from whom he had much to suffer, ii. 304.

Mys-cel'lus, Achæan general, founder of Crotona, ii. 140.

Mys'te-ries: feasts of the less and greater mysteries, celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres Eleusina, i. 33.

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Na-bar-za'nes, general of the horse in the army of Darius, perpetrates a horrible crime upon the person of that prince, iii. 148; he retires into Hyrcania, 149; he surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 154.

Na'bis makes himself tyrant of Sparta, iv. 450; instances of his avarice and cruelty, 26, 450, 451; Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposit, 26; Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, 27; the Romans declare war against him, 40; Q. Flaminius marches against him, *ibid*; besieges him in Sparta, 41; obliges him to demand peace, 43; and grants it him, *ibid*; Nabis breaks the treaty, 47; he is defeated by Philopemen, 50; and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, *ibid*; he is killed, 53.

Nab-o-nas'sar, or Bel'e-sis, king of Babylon, i. 284.

Nab-o-po-las'sar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, besieges and entirely ruins Nineveh, i. 287; he associates his son Nebuchodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechao, *ibid*; his death, *ibid*.

Naph'tha, kind of bitumen very combustible, iii. 140.

Nar-a-va'sus, N. midian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, i. 200.

Navy, a rival affairs of the ancient, ii. 359.

Nau-pac-tum, city of E. Ita, i. 40; taken by Acinus, iv. 61.

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Nax'os, island, one of the Cyclades, ii. 28; a se-
dition there occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, *ibid*.

Ne-ap'o-lis, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, ii. 191.

Ne-ar'chus, officer of Alexander, surveys the coast from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulph, iii. 197; he succeeds in his enterprise, *ibid*.

Neb'u-chod-o-no-sor I. or Sardanapallus, king of Nineveh, i. 287; attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 296; whom he defeats and puts to death, 287, 296; sends Holcerzes, with a powerful army to revenge him upon the people who had refused him aid, *ibid*; entire defeat of his army, *ibid*.

Neb'u-chod-o-no-sor II. is associated in the empire of Assyria by Nabopolassar, i. 287, 142; defeats Nechao, and conquers Syria and Palestine, 288; takes Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and carries away a great number of Jews to Babylon, *ibid*; reigns alone after the death of his father, *ibid*; his first dream, marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and takes away all its treasures, 289; defeats the army of Pharaoh king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, 144, 289; besieges Tyre, and takes it, 290; he makes himself master of Egypt, where he takes great spoils, his second dream, 290; he is reduced to the condition of a beast, 291; he recovers his former shape, re-ascends the throne, and dies, *ibid*.

Ne-cha'o, king of Egypt, i. 141; he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, *ibid*; able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, *ibid*; marches against the Babylonians and Medes to put a stop to their progress, *ibid*; defeats Josiah king of Judah, who opposed his march, *ibid*; beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemish, and returns into his kingdom, 142; on his way he goes to Jerusalem, deprives Jehoahaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoikim, *ibid*; conquered by Nebuchodonosor, who retakes Carchemish, 287; his death, 142.

Nec-ta-ne'bis is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, ii. 260; he is supported by Agesilaus, *ibid*; by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, *ibid*; not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns, iii. 18.

Ne-he-mi'ah, Jew, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, obtains permission to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, ii. 109; he acquires himself of his commission with incredible zeal, *ibid*.

Ne'le-us of Scæpsis, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, iv. 354.

Ne-me'a, games instituted near that city, i. 44.

Ne'o-las, brother of Malo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Malo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, ii. 403.

Ne-op-to'e-mus, one of Alexander's captains, provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, iii. 229; he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdicas and Eumenes, 243; he marches with Craterus against the latter, *ibid*; is killed in a battle, *ibid*; character of Neoptolemus, 242.

Ne-op-t'e-mus, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, i. 94; Pyrrhus causes him to be killed, 95.

Ne-op-to'e-mus, Greek poet, iii. 70.

Ner-i-glis'sor, conspires against Evilmerodach king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, i. 291; he makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, 319.

Ne'ro (C. Claudius), consul, quits his province, and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to their attacking Andral. i. 239.

NI

- Ne vi-us**, Roman officer, surprises Philip's camp near Apollonia in the night, iii. 430.
- Ni-can'dor** is deputed by the Ætolians to Philip, iv. 46; he endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus against the Romans, *ibid.*
- Ni-ca'nor**, officer in Alexander's army: rash boldness which costs him his life, iii. 182.
- Ni-ca'nor**, Cassander's brother, is put to death by Olympias, iii. 257.
- Ni-ca'nor**, governor of Media, surprised in his camp by Seleucus, and obliged to fly, iii. 271; he is killed in a battle, 282.
- Ni-ca nor**, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, poisons him, iii. 399; and is put to death by Achæus, *ibid.*
- Ni-ca'nor**, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, iv. 137, 138; Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judea to assist Alcimus, 231; and is killed in battle, *ibid.*
- Ni-ca'a**, built by Alexander, where he had defeated Porus, iii. 186.
- Ni-ci-as**, general of the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, ii. 175; opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 182; he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ibid.*; his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 187; after some expeditions, he forms the siege of Syracuse, 194; the city is reduced to extremities, 196; the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, *ibid.*; Nicias writes to the Athenians the state of his condition, and to demand a reinforcement, 198; two colleagues are appointed him, 199; they compel him to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 205; as is also his land army, *ibid.*; he hazards another sea-fight, and is again defeated, 205, 206; he determines to retire by land, 207; he is reduced to surrender at discretion, 208; he is condemned to die, and executed, 209.
- Ni-ci-as**, treasurer to Perseus, throws the treasures of Perseus into the sea by his order, iv. 169; yet, for that act, he is put to death, *ibid.*
- Ni'co-cles**, son of Evagoras of Salamin, ii. 456; his admirable character, *ibid.*
- Ni'co-cles**, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, iii. 269; he makes an alliance secretly with Antigonus, and kills himself, *ibid.*
- Ni'co-cles**, tyrant of Sicily, expelled by Aratus, iii. 365.
- Ni-co'ge-nes**, in whose house Themistocles resides at Ægea, supplies his guest with the means of going to the court of Persia in safety, ii. 98, 99.
- Ni-co-la'us**, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, iii. 496.
- Ni-co-la'us**, venerable old man, pleads in behalf of the Athenian generals, ii. 209.
- Ni-com'e-des I.** king of Bithynia, builds Nicomedia, i. 92.
- Ni-com'e-des II.** son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, iv. 204; he kills his father, who had given orders to kill him, and reigns in his stead, *ibid.*; sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, 304, 341; his death, 342.
- Ni-com'e-des III.** ascends the throne of Bithynia, and is dethroned by Mithridates, but reinstated by the Romans, iv. 342, &c.; again expelled by Mithridates, 344; Sylla reconciles him with Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 353; Nicomedes, in gratitude, at his death, leaves the Roman people his heirs, 362, 356.
- Ni'con**, athleta, adventure that happened to his statue, ii. 419.
- Ni-cos'tra-tus**, of Argos, general in the army of Ochus, in Egypt, iii. 17.
- Ni-cos'tra-tus**, Achæan, defeats the troops of Androsthenes, at Corinth, iv. 32.

NO

- Ni-ke'us**, son of Codrus, settles in Asia Minor, i. 415.
- Nile**, river of Africa; its sources, i. 103; cataracts of the Nile, *ibid.*; causes of its inundation, 104, time that its inundation continues, *ibid.*; measure or depth of its inundation, *ibid.*; canals of the Nile, 105; double prospect occasioned by the Nile, 107; canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, *ibid.*
- Nim'rod**, founder of the Assyrian empire, i. 272; history confounds him with his son Ninus, *ibid.*; the Scripture places him very near Abraham, of what reason, 273.
- Nin'e-veh**, city of Assyria, its foundation, i. 273; description of that city, *ibid.*; kings of Nineveh 284; its destruction, 287.
- Ni'nus**, king of Assyria, often confounded with Nimrod, i. 273; builds Nineveh, 274; conquers the Bactrians, marries Semiramis, has a sor by her, and dies soon after, *ibid.*
- Nin'y-as**, son of Ninus, reigns in Assyria, i. 281; effeminacy and sloth of that prince, *ibid.*
- Ni-to'cris**, queen of Babylon, i. 291; inscription on her tomb, 292.
- No-am'men**, famous city of Egypt, i. 138.
- No'mi**, or governments of Egypt, i. 97.
- No-mi'd'i-ans**, people of Africa, whose principal force consisted in cavalry, i. 244.
- Nyp-si-us**, general of Dionysius the younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracusans, ii. 405; he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 406; Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made him self master, 413.
- Ny'sa**, a city of India, supposed to be built by Bacchus, in honour of his nurse, iii. 179.
- Nys'sa**, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, iv. 360.

O B

- O-be'di-ence**: model of it in the Spartan youth, i. 421, 427; means for obtaining voluntary obedience, i. 313.
- Ob'e-lisks** of Egypt, i. 99.
- O'cha**, sister of Ochus, is buried alive by his order, iii. 7.
- O'chus** takes the name of Darius, from having put a stop to the insolence of Smerdis the Magian, ii. 9. See Darius I.
- O'chus**, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, ii. 167; whom he takes and puts to death, 168; he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, *ibid.*—See Darius Nothus.
- O'chus**, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brother, ii. 462; he ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, iii. 7; cruelties which he commits, *ibid.*; successful expedition against Phœnicia, 15, &c.; Cyrus, *ibid.*; and Egypt, 18; he abandons himself to pleasures, 19; poisoned by Bagoas, *ibid.*
- Oc-ta'vi-a**, widow of Marcellus, and sister of young Cæsar, marries Antony, iv. 398; she leaves Rome to go to him, and arrives at Athens, 399; Antony forbids her to come any farther, and she returns to Rome, *ibid.*; affront which she receives from Antony, 402.
- Oc-ta'vi-us** (Ch.) prætor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, iv. 172, 174, 176, 185; means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 185; Perseus puts himself into his hands, 186; Octavius receives the honour of a triumph 193; he is sent into Syria as ambassador, 226; where he is murdered, 230; the senate erect a statue to him, *ibid.*

OR

OX

- Or-ta-vi-us, the lieutenant of Crassus, endeavours in vain to console him for his defeat, iv. 293; in his interview with Surenra, he is killed, 296.
- O-de-on, theatre of music, 119.
- Or-ba'tes, Darius' groom, to whom by address he secures the crown of Persia, i. 368.
- Or-ba'zus, Persian lord, cruelly used by Darius, ii. 23.
- O'ly-gar-chy, what it is, i. 237.
- Or-tha'ces, king of Colchis, is subdued by Pompey, and serves as an ornament in his triumph, iv. 381.
- O-lym'pi-ads, their epoch, i. 113.
- O-lym'pi-as, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to king Philip, and has by him Alexander the Great, iii. 25; Philip repudiates her, 69; Alexander carries her to Epirus, *ibid.*; Polyperchon recalls her, and divides the government with her, 248; she causes Aridaus and his wife to be put to death, 257; Cassander besieges her in Pydna, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, 258.
- O-lym'pi-a, city of Elis, famous for the temple of Jupiter, i. 44.
- O-lym'pi-a, castle in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, ii. 191.
- O-lym'pic, solemn games of Greece, i. 44; ladies admitted to them, 45.
- O-lym'thus, city of Thrace, ii. 423; the Lacedæmonians declare war against it, *ibid.*; it is obliged to surrender, 425; Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores aid of the Athenians, iii. 43; Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, 46.
- O-ne-sic'ri-tus, philosopher and historian; Alexander deputed him to the Brachmans, to engage them to join his train, iii. 189; he can prevail upon none of them to do so, except Calanus, *ibid.*
- O-ne-s'i-mus tries to dissuade Perseus from making war with the Romans, quits his party and retires to Rome, iv. 170.
- O-ni'as, son of Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, iii. 245; his death, 297.
- O-ni'as, high-priest of the Jews, venerable for his piety, iv. 119; refuses Heliodorus the treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, *ibid.*; deposed by Jason his brother, 122; his death, 123.
- O-ni'as, son of the former, retires into Egypt, and builds a temple there for the Jews, iv. 234.
- O-no-mar-chus, brother of Philomelus, general of the Phocians, takes upon him the command of the troops in his stead, iii. 40; he is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, 41; his body is fastened to a gibbet, *ibid.*
- O-no-mas'tes, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince against the people of Maronea, iv. 93.
- O-phel'las, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, iii. 275; he suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries his troops into the country of the Carthaginians, 275, i. 183; they put him to death, 183.
- Oph'ra, king of Egypt.—See Apries.
- Op'pi-us, proconsul, defeated and taken prisoner by Mithridates, iv. 344.
- Or'a-cles; famous ones of antiquity, i. 37; of Dodona, *ibid.*; of Trophonius in Bœotia, 38; of the Branchidae, *ibid.*; of Claros, *ibid.*; of Delphos, *ibid.*; their usual character, 39; whether to be ascribed to the operation of devils, or to the knavery of man, 41.
- O-ra'tions, funeral, made for those who had died fighting for their country, ii. 148.
- Or'a-tor, quality most essential to an orator, iii. 21, &c.
- Or'chestra, part of the theatre of the ancients, i. 72.
- Or-cho-me'non, plain of Bœotia, where Sylla defeated Archelaus, iv. 350.
- O-res'tes, son and successor of Agamemnon, i. 41 &c.
- O-res'tes, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achaïans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, iv. 211; flies to escape the violence of the people, *ibid.*
- O-re'tes, governor of Sardis, puts Polyocrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, i. 364; he is put to death by Darius, ii. 11.
- O-ro-an'des, of Crete, promises Perseus to receive him into his ship, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, iv. 186; he runs away with his treasures, *ibid.*
- O-ro-ba'sus is sent ambassador to Sylla by Arsaces king of Parthia, to make an alliance with the Romans, iv. 342; Arsaces puts him to death at his return, *ibid.*
- O-ro-des, king of Parthia, iv. 284; war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, *ibid.*; Orodes, jealous of Surenra's glory by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 297; grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 300; he chooses Phraates for his successor, who puts his father and brothers to death, 301.
- O-ro-mas'des, deity adored by the Persians, i. 397.
- O-ron'tes, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, ii. 293; he accuses Tiribastus falsely, *ibid.*; he terminates the war with Evagoras, by a treaty of peace, *ibid.*; Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 296.
- O-ron'tes, governor of Mysia, joins in a plot against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays it, ii. 461.
- Or'phans: the law of Charondas in favour of them, ii. 141.
- Or-sa'ces, old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expeditions by order of Orodes, iv. 298; killed in battle, *ibid.*
- Or-si'nes, governor of Pasargada, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, iii. 198; he goes to meet Alexander with magnificent presents, *ibid.*; he is put to death by the intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 199.
- Or'thi-a, inhuman worship rendered by the Lacedæmonians to Diana, i. 421.
- O-si'ris is defeated and taken prisoner by Megabyzus who generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, ii. 107.
- Os'ta-nes, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, ii. 80.
- Os'tra-cism, sentence among the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, ii. 43; an end put to it by the banishment of Hyperbolus, ii. 179.
- Os-y-nan'di-as, king of Egypt, i. 129; magnificent edifices which he causes to be erected, *ibid.*; famous library founded by that prince, *ibid.*; his tomb surrounded by a circle of gold, 130; which Cambyses afterwards took away, 362.
- O'ta-nes, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magian, by the means of his daughter, i. 367; he forms a conspiracy against that usurper, *ibid.*; re-establishes Syloson tyrant of Samos, ii. 15.
- Oth-ry-a-des, Lacedæmonian, obtains the victory for the Lacedæmonians over the Argives by his valour, i. 82; he kills himself upon the field of battle, 83.
- Ox-a'thres, brother of Darius, distinguishes himself in the battle of Issus, iii. 104; Alexander puts Bessus into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the punishment he deserved, 163.
- Ox-ar'thes entertains Alexander, and gives him Roxana in marriage, iii. 173.
- Ox-y-dra'ca, people of India, their capitol taken by Alexander, iii. 192; they submit to him, 193.
- Ox-y-rin-chus, city of the lower Thebais, full of nuns and monks, i. 118; wonder related of that city by the Abbe Fleury in ecclesiastical history, i. *ibid.*

PA

P A

Pac'o-rus, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, iv. 298; he raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, *ibid.*; returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed, 300.

Pa'gan: definition of a pagan by Tertullian, ii. 102. See Paganism.

Pa'gan-ism: general reflections upon it, i. 29; absurdities of it, 36; what the highest perfection to be expected from it was, ii. 142.

Pa-la-me'des, tragedy of Euripides on the death of Socrates, ii. 325.

Pa-les'tine, province of Syria, i. 28.

Pa-les'træ, public schools for wrestling, i. 48.

Pa-li'ca, city of Sicily, a temple near it, famous for the sanctity of the oaths taken there, ii. 138.

Pa'i'sades, difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans for fortifying their camps, iv. 28.

Pam'ine-nes commands the Theban auxiliaries for Artabazus, by which he gains two considerable victories, iii. 8.

Pam'ine-nes, Athenian, relieves Megalopolis, besieged by the Lacedæmonians, iii. 13.

Pam-phyli'a, province of Asia Minor, i. 28.

Pan-a-the-næ'a, festival at Athens, i. 30.

Pan-cra'ti-um, kind of combat among the ancients, i. 49, 50.

Pan-e-tius, Stoic philosopher: he accompanies Scipio on his embassy to the kings of the East, iv. 244.

Pan'tau-chus, ambassador of Perseus to Gentius, engages that prince in his master's interest against the Romans, iv. 176.

Pan-the'a, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, i. 321; conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ibid.*; she brings over her husband to Cyrus, 332, her discourse with him previous to the battle of Thyabria, 329; her excessive grief upon the death of Abradates, 333; stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, *ibid.*

Paph-la-go'ni-a, province of Asia Minor, i. 28.

Pa-pir'i-a, mother of the second Scipio Africanus: magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, i. 261.

Pap'y-rus, an Egyptian plant, description of it, i. 124.

Par'a-lus, last of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, ii. 151.

Par-a-san'ga, Persian measure, ii. 267.

Parch'ment, invention of, i. 125.

Par'is, Trojan, returning home with Helen whom he had ravished, is carried by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, i. 135; Proteus, king of Egypt, obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, *ibid.*; Paris returns to Troy, *ibid.*

Par-me'ni-o, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, iii. 88; seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of Issus, 100; Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners to him, 108; Parmenio advises Alexander to accept Darius' offers, 122; surprise on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high-priest Jaddus, 123; Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 160; his praise, 161.

Par'mys, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius, ii. 9.

Par'i-cide, reasons that prevented Solon from making any law against that crime, i. 436.

Par-the'ni-a-tæ, name given to the illegitimate children of the Lacedæmonians; when grown up, they banish themselves from Sparta, and settle at Tarentum in Italy, i. 84.

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Par-the-on, temple of Minerva at Athens, ii. 418, iii. 294.

Par'thi-a, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, i. 27; beginning of the empire of the Parthians, iv. 232; kings of Parthia from Arsaces I. to Orodes, *ibid.*, &c.

Par-y-sa'tis, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, ii. 168; her influence over her husband, ii. 222; affection of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, 235, 238; she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for him, and causes him to be sent back to his government, *ibid.*; cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 268; poisons Statira, 269; Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, *ibid.*

Pa-sar'ga-da, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, iii. 147.

Pa-ter-be'mis, officer of Apries, not having been able to seize *Ἀνακτα*, in the midst of the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the most cruel manner by that prince, i. 144.

Pa-tis'i-thes, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, i. 366; he is killed with his brother, 368.

Pa-troc'us, governor of Babylon, abandons it upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marshes, iii. 272.

Pa-troc'us commands the fleet sent to the aid of the Athenians, iii. 347; he causes Sotades the satiric poet to be put to death, 348.

Pa'tron, general of the Greeks, advises Darius in vain to let them be his guard, iii. 148.

Pau'lus Æ-mil'i-us. See Æmilius.

Pau-san'i-as, king of Lacedæmon, commands the Greeks jointly with Aristides, at the battle of Plataeæ, ii. 75; his pride loses the Lacedæmonians the command, 87; his secret conspiracy with the Persians discovered, *ibid.*; and punished, 88.

Pau-san'i-as, king of Sparta, commands at the siege of Athens, ii. 233; he obtains peace for the Athenians, 243; he neglects to join Lysander, and is summoned to appear, but refuses, and is condemned to die, 283; he retires to Tegæa, and dies there, *ibid.*

Pau-san'i-as, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, iii. 30; he is de-throned by Iphicrates, 31.

Pau-san'i-as, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain satisfaction of Philip for an insult which he had received from Attalus, assassinates Philip in revenge, and is torn to pieces upon the spot, iii. 70.

Pau-sis'tra-tus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, defeated by Polyxenides, and killed, iv. 63.

Pe-las'gus teaches the first Greeks to live upon acorns, i. 411.

Pe'l'a, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, iii. 29.

Pe-lop'i-das, Theban: his character, ii. 426; his friendship with Epaminondas, *ibid.*; he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 424; forms the design of reinstating the liberty of his country, 427; elected Bæotarch, 430; drives the garrison out of the citadel, *ibid.*; he causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 430, &c.; he gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 433; commands the sacred battalion at Leuctra, 435; he, with Epaminondas, ravages Laconia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, at his return he is accused and acquitted, 438, 441; he is sent ambassador to the court of Persia, and his credit with Artaxerxes, 442; Pelopidas marches against Alexander, tyrant of Phærgæ, and reduces him, 443; he goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as a hostage, 444, iii. 31; he returns into Thessaly, *ibid.*; he is seized and made prisoner by treachery, 445; he animates Thebe, wife of Alexander, against her husband, 445, 446; he is de-

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- livered by Epaminoudas, 446, 447; Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 448; singular honours paid to his memory, *ibid.*
- Pe-lop'i-das sent ambassador by Mithridates to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of a refusal, *iv.* 343.
- Pe-lo-pon-ne'sus, south part of Greece, now called the Morea, *i.* 408; Peloponnesian war, *ii.* 144.
- Pe'lops gives his name to Peloponnesus, *i.* 412.
- Pe-lu'si-um, the key of Egypt, *i.* 108.
- Pen'sions, manner of giving them in Persia, *i.* 381.
- Pen-ta-co-si-o-me-dim'ni, citizens of the first class at Athens, *ii.* 341.
- Pen-tath'lum, assemblage of several agonistic exercises among the Greeks, *i.* 50.
- Pen'thi-lus, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Tisamenus, *i.* 412.
- Peo'ple, description and character of the people, *ii.* 112, *iii.* 11, 250, *iv.* 205.
- Per-dic'cas, son of Amyntas II. made king of Macedonia by Pelopidas, *ii.* 444, *iii.* 30; he is killed in a battle against the Illyrians, *ii.* 444.
- Per-dic'cas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, *iv.* 210, 229; provinces which fell to him, *ibid.*; appointed guardian of Aridæus, and regent of the empire, *ibid.*; puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 230; quells the revolt of the Greeks in Asia, 231; puts Eumenes in possession of Cappadocia, 241; marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, *ibid.*; his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 242; where he is killed, 244.
- Per'ga-mus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor, *i.* 28; its kings, 92, 93; it becomes a Roman province, 246.
- Pe-ri-an'der, king of Corinth, one of the seven sages, *i.* 414, 448.
- Per'i-cles, Athenian, his extraction, *ii.* 110; his education, *ibid.*; care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and of exercising himself in eloquence, 111; means that he employs for gaining the favour of the people, 112; reduces the power of the Areopagus, 113; Thucydides is opposed to him, 117; he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 118; envied by the Athenians, *ibid.*; justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, 119; he changes his conduct in respect to the people, 120; his great authority, *ibid.*; his disinterestedness, 121; expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, 123; about Peloponnesus, *ibid.*; against Eubœa, *ibid.*; he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, 124; causes aid to be granted to the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, *ibid.*; troubles given him by his enemies, 128; determines the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 130; and to shut themselves up within their walls, 146; he prevents them from taking the field, while their lands are ravaged, *ibid.*; he makes the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 148; he is divested of the command, and fined, 151; his grief for the death of his son, *ibid.*; the Athenians reinstate him, 152; and permit him to enrol his illegitimate son among the citizens, 153; death of Pericles, *ibid.*; his praise, *ibid.*
- Per'i-cles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the island Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, *ii.* 226, 229.
- Pe-riu'thus, besieged by Philip, and saved by Phocion, *iii.* 57.
- Per-ju-ry: punishment of that crime among the Egyptians, *i.* 112.
- Per-pen'na, Roman ambassador to Gertius, is imprisoned, *iv.* 176, 177; delivered by Anicius, and sent to Rome with the news of his victory, 177;

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- when consul, defeats Aristonicus and takes him prisoner, 247; he dies on his return to Rome, *ibid.*
- Per-se-us, first king of Mycenæ, *i.* 412.
- Per-se-us, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, conspires against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, *iv.* 106, &c.; his speech against his brother, 109; removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 118; takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, 119; puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, 148; he prepares for war with the Romans, *ibid.*; he endeavours to gain allies, *ibid.*; he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, *ibid.*; the Romans are informed of his secret measures, 149; Eumenes confirms them concerning his proceedings, 150; Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 151; and afterwards by poison, *ibid.*; rupture between him and the Romans, *ibid.*; interview with Marcius, 154; war declared in form, 158; Perseus advances with his troops near the river Teneus, 159; battle of the cavalry, in which he is victor, but makes an ill use of it, 160; makes proposals of peace which are rejected, 163, 164; he takes fright upon the arrival of the consul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 168; he resumes courage soon after, 169; solicits aid on all sides, 174; his avarice loses him considerable succours, 175; he is entirely defeated by Paulus Æmilius at Pydna, 183, &c.; taken prisoner with his children, 186; and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 192; death of Perseus, *ibid.*
- Per-sep'o-lis, capital of Persia, taken by Alexander, who burns the palace in a drunken frolic, *iii.* 147.
- Pers'ia, province of Asia, *i.* 28; foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, 350; kings who reigned in Persia: Cyrus, *ibid.*; Cambyses, 360; Smerdis the Magian, 366; Darius son of Hystaspes, *ii.* 1; Xerxes, 46; Artaxerxes Longimanus, 97; Xerxes, 167; Sogdianus, *ibid.*; Darius Nothus, *ibid.*; Artaxerxes Mnemon, 237; Ochus, *iii.* 1; Arses, 19; Darius Codomanus, 20; destruction by Alexander, 150; with the vices which occasioned that decline and ruin, *ibid.*, *i.* 400, 403, *ii.* 463, &c.; manners and customs of the Persians, *i.* 369; education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, 346; government of the Persians, 369; form of it monarchical, *ibid.*; coronation of their kings, *ii.* 237; respect paid to them, *i.* 370; manner of educating their children, 370, 371; public council, 372; administration of justice, 373; attention to provinces, 375; invention of posts and couriers, 378; care of their finances, 380; of war, 385; entrance into the troops, *ibid.*; arms of the Persians, 382; their chariots armed with scythes, *ibid.*; military discipline of the Persians, 383; their order of battle, *ibid.*; manner of going to battle, *i.* 251; quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, *i.* 320, 387; arts and sciences of the Persians, 388; their religion, 395; their marriages and burials, 398.
- Pe'tal-ism, a kind of sentence established at Syracuse, *ii.* 138.
- Pe'tra, strong place in the Nabathæan Arabia, *ii.* 272.
- Pe'tra Ox-l'a'na, inaccessible rock, *iii.* 168; taken by Alexander, 169.
- Peu-ces'tes, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of Oxydraca, *iii.* 192; provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 229; he opposes the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 257.
- Pha-lan'thus, general of the Spartans called partheniata, settles them at Tarentum, *i.* 84.
- Pha'lanx, Macedonian, description of it, *iii.* 36.

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- Pha-la'ris**, his bull taken at the siege of Agrigentum, and sent to Carthage, i. 172.
- Pha-le'cus** is appointed general of the Phocæans during the sacred war, in the room of Phayllus, iii. 41; he pillages the temple of Delphos, as the other had done, and is deposed, *ibid.*
- Pha-le'rus**, part of Athens, ii. 84.
- Pha-mæ'us**, general of the Carthaginian cavalry. Jares not take the field when Scipio is to support the foragers, i. 253; he goes over to the Romans, *ibid.*
- Pha'nes** of Halicarnassus, general of the Greek auxiliaries in the army of Amasis, goes over, upon some discontent, to Cambyses, i. 360; the Greeks in the king of Egypt's service murder his children, and in presence of the two armies drink their blood, 361.
- Pha'ra-oh**, common name of the kings of Egypt, i. 130; one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 136.
- Phar'i-sees**, powerful sect in Judea, iv. 256; persecution of Alexander Jannæus and his party by the Pharisees, 266, 274; end of that persecution, 275.
- Phar-na-ba'us**, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, ii. 218; he makes peace with the latter, 219; he sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta, ii. 246; his whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus 281; interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, *ibid.*; the latter charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, 457; the enterprise miscarries through his fault, 458.
- Phar-na-ees** revolts against his father, Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, iv. 380; declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 381; driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 395.
- Phar-na'ci-as**, eunuch of Xerxes II. supplies Sogdianus with the means for assassinating that prince, ii. 167.
- Pha'ros**, its famous tower, or light-house, iii. 318.
- Pha'sa-el**, brother of Herod, made governor of Jerusalem, iv. 280; being taken by the Parthians and put in irons, he kills himself, *ibid.*
- Pha-y'llus**, general of the Phocæans, during the sacred war, plunders the temple of Delphos, to defray the expenses thereof, iii. 41; his death, *ibid.*
- Pha-y'llus**, of Crotona, his love for the Greeks, and valour, iii. 140.
- Phé'bi-das**, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, ii. 424; he seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, *ibid.*; he is deprived of the command, and fined, 425.
- Phé-dy'ma**, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magian, discovers that usurper's imposture, i. 367; and after his death marries Darius, ii. 9.
- Phé-nic'i-a** or **Phœ-nic'i-a**, province of Syria, i. 29; revolts against Ochus, iii. 15.
- Phé-ren-da'tes**, governor of Egypt for Ochus, iii. 18.
- Phé'ron**, king of Egypt, i. 134; action of that prince against the Nile, *ibid.*
- Phid'i-as**, famous statuary, has the direction of the public buildings at Athens, ii. 119; ingratitude of the Athenians to him, 123.
- Phi'la**, Antipater's daughter, wife to Craterus, iii. 239; and after to Demetrius Poliorcetes, 280; she kills herself with poison, 305; praise of that princess, 239.
- Phi'la**, daughter of Seleucus, marries Antiochus Gonatus, iii. 325.
- Phil-a-del'phus**, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, iii. 307. See Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- Phi-læ'ni**, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, i. 166; the Carthaginians, out of gratitude, consecrate two altars to them, *ibid.*

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- Phi-læ'ni-us**, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that captain, i. 243.
- Phi-lam'non** assassinates Arsinee, wife of Ptolemy Philopator, 410; for which he is beaten to death with staves, by the ladies of honour to that princess, iv. 8.
- Phi le'mon**, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander, in his own life time, i. 72.
- Phi-le'ter-es**, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, i. 92, iii. 348; means which he uses for supporting himself in that kingdom, 349.
- Phil'i-das**, one of the conspirators against the tyrant of Thebes, finds means to be made their secretary, ii. 427; on the day fixed, he gives the tyrant a supper, 428; and they are killed at his house, 429, 430.
- Phil'ip**, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia; his birth, iii. 29; Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as a hostage, ii. 444, iii. 31; he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, *ibid.*; commencement of his reign, 32; he makes a cautious peace with the Athenians, *ibid.*; his first conquests, 33; birth of Alexander, 35; Philip's care of his education, *ibid.*; he endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 40; he conciliates the animosity of the Thessalians, and expels their tyrants, 41; he endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopylæ in vain, *ibid.*; he takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 45; he declares for the Thebans against the Phocæans, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 46; he lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, 47; he seizes Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocæans, and terminates the sacred war, 49, 50; he causes himself to be admitted into the counsel of the Amphictyons, 50; on his return into Macedonia, he pushes his conquest into Illyrium and Thrace, *ibid.*; he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 53; Athens, declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, *ibid.*; Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 54; Phocion drives him out of that island, 55; Philip forms the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 57; Phocion obliges him to raise both these sieges, 59; Philip subjects Atlicæ, king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mœsia, *ibid.*; by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphictyons, 60; he seizes Elatæa, 61; the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 64; he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, *ibid.*; battle of Chæronea, in which Philip gains a great victory, 65; Philip, in the council of the Amphictyons, causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 68; domestic troubles in his family, 69; he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, *ibid.*; he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, with Alexander, king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 70; memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 71; good and bad characters of that prince, 71, 72.
- Phil'ip**, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, iii. 397; his affection for Aratus, 412; he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, *ibid.*; different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 416; strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 417; irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 420; he takes Thermæ by surprise, 421; excesses committed there by his soldiers, *ibid.*; prudence which he shows in his retreat

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422; trouble in his camp, and punishment of the authors of them, 423; irruption of Philip into Laconia, *ibid.*; new intrigue of the conspirators, 424; their punishment, 425; Philip takes Thebes of Phthiotis from the Ætolians, and concludes a peace with them, 427; he concludes a treaty with Hannibal, 429; he makes preparation for carrying the war into Italy, *ibid.*; he is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Appollonia, 430; his change of conduct, bad faith, and irregularities, *ibid.*; he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 431; he makes himself master of the city and castle of Lissus, 432; he gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 434; he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 435; different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 440, &c.; he makes peace with the Romans, 451; he enters into a league with Antiochus, for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, *iv.* 8; bad success of Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians, 9; this cruel treatment of the Cnians, *ibid.*; he besieges and takes Abydos, 9, 10; he ravages Attica, 12; the Romans declare war against him, 13; he makes an ineffectual attempt against Athens, *ibid.*; he endeavours to bring over the Ætolians into his party, 15; he is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 17; he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the Apsus, 21; ineffectual interviews of Philip with Flaminius, concerning peace, 25; he is defeated by Flaminius near Scotusa and Cynscopephale in Thessaly, 30, 31; the Romans grant him a peace, 33; Philip aids Quintus against Nabis, 40; his conduct to Scipio, 63; Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, 60; the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of Thrace, 93; he discharges his revenge upon the inhabitants of Maronea, *ibid.*; he sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 94; complaints against Philip sent to Rome, 103; the Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 104; Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 105; plots of Perseus against Demetrius, 106; he accuses him to Philip, 108; upon a new accusation Philip causes Demetrius to be put to death, 117; he discovers his innocence some time after, and the guilt of Perseus, *ibid.*; while he mediates the punishment of the latter, he dies, 119.

Philip pretends to be the son of Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, *iv.* 209; he is defeated and killed by Tremellius, 210.

Philip, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 229.

Philip, in concert with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Mopsuestia, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, *iv.* 261; he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after having driven out Eusebes, *ibid.*; his death, *ibid.*

Philip, Phrygian, made governor of Judea by Epiphanes, *iv.* 126.

Philip, favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, made guardian to his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, *iv.* 140; Lysias usurps that employment, and Philip retires into Egypt, 225.

Philip of Acarnania, physician, known from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, *iii.* 96.

Philiscus, sent by Artaxerxes to reconcile the states of Greece, *ii.* 442.

Philistus, the historian of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, *ii.* 369, who banishes him, 388; he is recalled by Dionysius the Younger, 394; his death, 404.

Phil'o-cles, Macedonian, devoted to Perseus, is sent by Philip on an embassy to Rome, *iv.* 116; at his return he delivers a forged letter to that prince, under the counterfeited seal of T. Quintus, which occasions the death of Demetrius, 117; Philip causes him to be seized and brought to trial, in which he is condemned to death, 118, 119.

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Phil'o-cles, Athenian general, defeated and made prisoner by Lysander, *ii.* 233; he is put to death, *ibid.*

Phil-o-me'lus, general of the Phocæans, sets them against the decree of the Amphictyons, and determines them to take arms, *iii.* 39; he makes himself master of the temple of Delphos, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, *ibid.*; being defeated in a battle, he throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 40.

Phi-lon'i-des, runner to Alexander the Great, famous for his swiftness, *i.* 52.

Phi-lo-pæ-men, Megalopolitan, determines his citizens to reject the offers of Cleomenes, *iii.* 391, 394; he signalizes himself at the battle of Sclasia, 395; he distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of Elis, 435; his education, and his great qualities, *ibid.*, &c.; he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 437; he reforms the Achæan troops, 438; he is elected captain-general of the Achæans, 446; he gains a famous victory over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, and kills him in the battle, 448; the Achæans erect him a statue, 449; honours which he receives in the assembly at the Nemeian games, *ibid.*; Philopemen is defeated at sea by the tyrant Nabis, *iv.* 50; he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, *ibid.*; after the death of Nabis he seizes Sparta, and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 53; he refuses the presents offered him by the Spartans, 54; he secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, 81; he makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, *ibid.*; he attacks Messene, and is taken prisoner, 96; the Messenians put him to death, 97; honours paid to his memory, 97, 98; trial of Philopemen after his death, 98, 216.

Phi-lo'tas, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, *iii.* 88; the pretended conspiracy for which he is put to death, 158, 160.

Phi-lo'tas, governor of Asia, put to death by Pithon, *iii.* 257.

Phil-lox'e-nus, poet, favourite of Dionysius the tyrant; his generous freedom, *ii.* 386.

Phil-lox'e-nus, Macedonian, seizes Harpalus, and causes him to be tried, *iii.* 202.

Pho-ca'ia, city of Ionia, condemned to be destroyed by the Romans, *iv.* 246; the Marseillians, originally descended from that city, obtain pardon for it, *ibid.*

Pho'cis, part of Greece, *ii.* 181; it is ravaged by Xerxes, *ii.* 64; the Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phocis of the custody of the temple of Delphos, 123; Pericles restores it to them, *ibid.*; the Phocæans till the ground consecrated to Apollo, and are charged with sacrilege, and fined, *iii.* 29; they take up arms against the decree of the Amphictyons, *ibid.*; the latter make war against the Phocæans, *ibid.*; Philip reduces them, 50.

Pho'ci-on, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of the Hellespont, and makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, *iii.* 59; he rejects the offers of Harpalus, 201; he endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, 231; he is condemned to die by the Athenians, 249; his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 250; the Athenians erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 252; character and praise, 54, 250, 251.

Phœ'nix, fabulous bird: wonders related of it, *i.* 108.

Pho-ro'ne-us, king of Argos, *i.* 412.

Phra-a'tes I. son of Priapatius, king of Parthia, *iv.* 283.

Phra-a'tes II. succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, *iv.* 283; he is thrice defeated by Antiochus Sidetes, 248; he defeats Antiochus

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who is killed in the battle, *ibid.*; he releases Demetrius, 249; he marries one of that prince's daughters, *ibid.*; he is defeated by the Scythians, and is killed in the pursuit, *ibid.*

Phra-a'tes III. surnamed Theos, king of the Parthians, iv. 284; he makes an alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, *ibid.*; he espouses the part of Tigranes the Younger against his father, *ibid.*; death of Phraates, *ibid.*

Phra-a'tes IV. is nominated king by his father Oros, and afterwards puts him, with his brothers and his own son, to death, iv. 301.

Phra-or'tes, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejoces, i. 295; subdues Upper Asia, 296; makes war against the Assyrians, *ibid.*; he is defeated and put to death, *ibid.*

Phra-ta-phor'nes, one of Alexander's generals; provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, iii. 229.

Phry-gi-a, province of Asia Minor, i. 23.

Phry-ni-cus, one of the Athenian generals, opposes the recall of Alcibiades, ii. 214; he is divested of the command, 215.

Phry-non, general of the Athenians, is killed in a duel by Pittacus, i. 448.

Phyl'ilius, Lacedæmonian officer, is killed at the siege of Sparta by Pyrrhus, iii. 342.

Phys-con. See Ptolemy Evergetus, surnamed Physcon.

Phy'to, general of the troops of Rhegium, defends that city against Dionysius, ii. 383; Dionysius, after having made him suffer great indignities, puts him to death, 384.

Pin'dar, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, i. 136.

Pi-ræ'us, port of Athens, ii. 84.

Pi'ro-mis, name given to kings, said by the Egyptian priests to have reigned in Egypt, i. 139.

Pi-san'der, Athenian, persuades the Athenians to recall Alcibiades, ii. 214; the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, *ibid.*; at his return he changes the form of government, 216.

Pi-san'der, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus, his brother-in-law, to command the fleet, ii. 280; he is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 285, &c.

Pi-sis'tra-tus, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, i. 437; lenity of his government, 438; his death, 439; his character, 437; library founded by him at Athens, 439.

Pi'so (Calpurnius), consul, commands at the siege of Carthage, i. 253.

Pi-suth'nes, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts, ii. 168; he is taken and put to death, 169.

Pi'thon, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, iii. 245; he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 257; he is driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ibid.*; Antigonus puts him to death, 266.

Pit'ta-cus of Mitylene, one of the seven sages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppressed his country, i. 448; he commands the army against the Athenians, challenges Phrynon their general to single combat, and kills him, *ibid.*; the inhabitants of Mitylene give him the sovereignty of their city, *ibid.*; he voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expiration of ten years, and retires, *ibid.*; his death, *ibid.*

Plague, a contagious distemper, and description of that disease, ii. 143, 149.

Pla-tæ'æ, city of Bœotia, i. 408; the Plataeans distinguish themselves at the battle of Marathon, ii. 38; they refuse to submit to Xerxes, 57; the Greeks decree the prize of valour to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 77; they institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died at the battle, 79, 80; siege of Plataeæ by the The-

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bans, 144; Plataeæ besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 154, 162; by the Thebans, 433; the Plataeans retire to Athens, *ibid.*; they intend Alexander to destroy Thebes, iii. 83, 84; that prince permits them to build their city, 139.

Pla'to retires to Megara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, ii. 325; he travels into Sicily, 377; his friendship with Dion, *ibid.*; second voyage into Sicily, 394; wonderful change occasioned by his presence at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 395; a conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, 395, 396; he quits the court, and returns into Greece, 397; adventure that happens to him at Olympia, *ibid.*; he goes a third time to Sicily; he returns to the court of Dionysius the Younger, 398; Dionysius differs with him, 399; he permits him to return into Greece, *ibid.*; his death, iii. 19.

Plem-my'r'i-um, isle near Syracuse, ii. 191.

Plis'tar-chus, son of Leonidas king of Sparta, ii. 83.

Plis'te-nes, son of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, i. 412.

Plis'to-nax, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cause a treaty to be concluded between Athens and Sparta, ii. 174; his death, 224.

Plu'tarch of Eretria calls in the Athenians to aid Eubæa against Philip, iii. 54; his perfidy, 55. Phocion drives him out of Eretria, *ibid.*

Pæ'ci-le, a gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoics used to assemble, ii. 42.

Po'e-sy. Greek poets, i. 442; emulation in disputing the prizes in the Olympic games, i. 59; poets who invented and improved tragedy and comedy, 60.

Pol'e-march, magistrate at Athens, employed both to administer justice and command armies, ii. 38, 347.

Po-li-or-ce'tes, name given Demetrius, son of Antigonus, iii. 268.

Po-ly-a'nus, senator of Syracuse, harangues the people upon the action of Andranodorus, after the death of Hieronymus, iv. 322.

Po-lyb'i-das, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war against Olynthus, and takes that city, ii. 425.

Po-lyb'i-us, Greek historian; his function at the funeral of Philopemen, iv. 98; chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæans, 103; elected general of the horse, 165; deputed to the Consul Marcius, 166, 167; saves the Achæans a considerable expense, 169; he is included in the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, 199; his friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, 200, i. 260; returns to Peloponnesus, iv. 216; zeal in defending Philopemen's memory, *ibid.*; proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, *ibid.*; he establishes good order and tranquillity in the country, 217; returns to Rome, and accompanies Scipio to the siege of Numantia, *ibid.*; after Scipio's death he returns to his own country, where he ends his days, *ibid.*

Po-lyb'i-us, officer in the army of the Achæans, iii. 448.

Po-lyc'ra-tes, tyrant of Samos, i. 364; singular history of that tyrant, 364, 365; his miserable end, 365.

Po-lyc'rates, first minister of Ptolemy Epiphanes, renders that prince great services, iv. 68.

Po-lyd'a-mus, famous Athleta of antiquity, i. 48, 49.

Po-ly-dec'tes, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, i. 82.

Po-ly-do'rus, brother of Jason, tyrant of Phææ, killed by Polyphron his brother, ii. 444.

Po-lyg'a-my, allowed in Egypt, i. 113.

Po-lyg'no'tus, famous painter, generous action of his to the Athenians, ii. 42.

Pol'y-phron is substituted to Jason, tyrant of Phææ, his brother, ii. 444; kills Polydorus his other brother, and is soon after killed himself by Alexander of Phææ, *ibid.*

Po-lys-per'chon, Syracusan, kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, ii. 410.

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Polys-per'chon, one of Alexander's generals, reduces a country called Bubacene, iii. 174; ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself before Alexander, for which he is put in prison, and soon after pardoned, 175; he takes the city of Ora, 180; he is appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor of Macedonia by Antipater, 247; he recalls Olympias, and endeavours to secure Greece to himself, 248; he is driven out of Macedonia by Cassander, 258; he causes Hercules the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina, to be put to death, 274.

Polys'tra-tus, Macedonian soldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his last words, iii. 149.

Polyx-en't-des, admiral to Antiochus the Great, defeated by Livius, iv. 62; he defeats Pausistratus, who commanded the fleet of Rhodes, by a stratagem, 63; he is defeated by Æmilius, and reduced to retire to Ephesus, 65.

Poly-ze'us, brother-in-law of Dionysius, having declared against him, flies, ii. 382.

Poly-ze'us, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuse, gives his brother umbrage, ii. 135; Theron his son-in-law takes his part, ibid.

Pom-pe'i-us (L.) Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Perseus, and retires to an eminence, where he defends himself valiantly, iv. 164.

Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, iv. 371; his conduct upon arriving in his government, 373; he offers Mithridates peace, ibid.; he gains several victories over that prince, 374; he marches into Armenia against Tigraues, who comes and surrenders himself to him, 375; he pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians, 376; tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides, 365, 377; he marches to Pontus, 378; he returns into Syria, ibid.; Pompey's expeditious into Arabia, 277, 381; and Judea, 278; he takes Jerusalem, enters the temple and the Sanctum Sanctorum, ibid.; after having reduced Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, 381; after his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, and is killed, 389.

Pontus, kingdom of Asia Minor, i. 28, 93; chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Pontus, ibid.

Po-pil'i-us (C.) is sent into Egypt, iv. 127; which obliges Antiochus to quit, and leave the two brothers, Ptolemies, in possession of it, 128; he is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the decree of the senate in favour of the Greeks, 165.

Por-phy-ry, a learned pagan, an enemy of Christianity, iv. 146.

Por-us, Indian king, defeated and taken prisoner by Alexander, who restores him his dominions, iii. 184, 185.

Posts: invention of posts and couriers, i. 349, 378.

Poth'in-us, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra, iv. 389; he advises the death of Pompey, ibid.; endeavours to render Caesar odious, 390; he prevents the effect of Caesar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 391; Caesar puts him to death, 392.

Po-ti-da'ra, a city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, who besiege it, ii. 125, 126; Philip takes it from the Athenians, iii. 34.

Power-ty, love of it instituted at Sparta, ii. 334.

Prex-as'pes, confidant of Cambyses, kills Smerdis by his order, i. 363; his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyses, 364; promises to declare Smerdis the Magian the true son of Cyrus, 367; speaks to the people from the top of a tower, and declares the contrary; then throws himself down and is killed, ibid.

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Pri-a-pa'ti-us, son of Arsaces II. king of Parthia, iv. 283.

Pri-e'ne, city of Ionia, ii. 124.

Pro'cles reigns at Sparta with his brother Eurysthenes, i. 81.

Pro-cu-le'i-us, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Caesar's hands, iv. 407; he makes himself master of the person of that princess, ibid.; Caesar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, ibid.

Pro-di'cos, a name given to the guardians of the kings of Sparta, i. 82.

Prom'a-chus, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with that prince, iii. 200.

Proph'e-cies in respect to Pharaoh Hophra and the Egyptians, i. 143, &c.; prophecies concerning Nineveh, 297; Babylon, 335, 336; Cyrus, 337; Alexander, 353; Tyre, iii. 118; Antiochus the Great, iv. 84; Seleucus Philopator, 121; Antiochus Epiphanes, ibid.; Jacob's prophecy concerning the Messiah, 282.

Pro-tag'o-ras, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, iii. 15; he is confirmed by Ochus, 17.

Pro-tag'o-ras of Abdera, his opinion of the divinity, ii. 189; he is expelled Athens, and his works caused to be burnt, ibid.

Pro'te-us, king of Argos, i. 412.

Pro'te-us, Macedonian; Alexander drinks to him in the bowl of Hercules, iii. 209.

Pro'te-us, king of Egypt, stops Helen, and restores her to Menelaus, i. 135.

Proth'o-us, senator of Sparta, opposes the war with the Thebans, but is disregarded, ii. 434, 435.

Pro-to-g'e-nes, famous painter: regard Demetrius had for him during the siege of Rhodes, iii. 291.

Pro-tom'a-chus, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands of Arginuse, and were condemned at their return, ii. 226, 228, &c.

Prov'i-dence: discourse of Socrates upon providence, ii. 310, 311.

Prox'e-nes of Bœotia, officer in the army of young Cyrus, ii. 249; seized by treachery, and put to death, 259; his character, ibid.

Pru'si-as I. king of Bithynia, i. 92.

Pru'si-as II. king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, ibid.; he declares for the Romans against Antiochus, iv. 64; he makes war against Eumenes, . . 41; services rendered him by Hannibal, 241, 242; who, notwithstanding, agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, 242; he desires the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, iv. 169; his abject flattery in the senate, 201; war with Attalus, 203; the senate obliges him to desist and make satisfaction, 204; intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, he is killed by him, ibid.

Pry-ta-nis, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, i. 414.

Psam-nien't-us, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who used him with clemency, i. 147, 361; but striving to regain the throne, is put to death, ibid.

Psam'mis, king of Egypt, i. 142.

Psam-met'i-chus, one of the twelve kings in Egypt, is banished, i. 139; defeats the other eleven, and remains sole monarch, 140; makes war against the king of Assyria, ibid.; he besieges Azotus, and takes it after a siege of twenty-nine years, ibid.; he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, ibid.; his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, ibid. &c.

Pto-le-ma'i-da, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, iii. 305.

Pto-le'ry, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdiccas, ii. 444; Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, 444, iii. 31.

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Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, iii. 104.

Ptolemy I son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, is dangerously wounded at the siege of one of them and cured soon after, iii. 195; provinces which fall to him, 229; causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 240; enters into a league against Perdikkas and Eumenes, 242; he becomes master of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, and takes Jerusalem, 246; he forms a league against Antigonus, 267; he seizes the island of Cyprus, and defeats Demetrius, 269; he takes Tyre, 270; defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, *ibid.*; different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 274; Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 281; Ptolemy assumes the title of king, *ibid.*; he sends aid to the Rhodians, 287, 289; who, in gratitude, give him the title of Soter, 291; Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 295; these four princes divide the empire of Alexander among them, 296; Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus, 301; he renews the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 303; he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 307; death of Ptolemy Soter, 310; praise of that prince, *ibid.*; famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 308.

Ptolemy II, surnamed Philadelphus, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, iii. 307; feast which he gave the people on his accession to the crown, 311; the commencement of his reign, 317; his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, *ibid.*; he causes the holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek, 325; he cultivates the amity of the Romans, 346; his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, *ibid.*; sends aid to the Athenians, 347; revolt of Magas, 348; Ptolemy quells a conspiracy formed against him, *ibid.*; works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 350; he comes to an accommodation with Magas, *ibid.*; war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 351; peace between those princes, 352; death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 355; character and qualities of that prince, *ibid.*; his taste for the arts and sciences, 351, 354; his application to make commerce flourish in his dominions, 350.

Ptolemy III, surnamed Evergetes, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, iii. 355; for the death of his sister Berenice, he puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 358; in returning from that expedition, he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 359; league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 360; the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, *ibid.*; he causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 361; he augments the library of Alexandria, 362; he gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Coelosyria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, 363; arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 397; death of Ptolemy Evergetes, *ibid.*; Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 398.

Ptolemy IV, surnamed Philopator, ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, iii. 398, 399; injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 413; Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Coelosyria from Ptolemy, 401; short truce between those two princes, 406; Ptolemy gains a victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 408; he comes to Jerusalem, *ibid.*; rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, *ibid.*; he grants Antiochus peace, 409; the Egyptians revolt against Philopator, 410

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that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, *ibid.*; he puts Arsinoe, his wife and sister, to death, *ibid.*; he dies, worn out with debauches, 454.

Ptolemy V, called Epiphanes, at the age of five years ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Philopator, iv. 7; Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 8; Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 12; Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, having taken Palestine and Coelosyria from Antiochus, Antiochus retakes those provinces, 19, 20; conspiracy of Scopas against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, 38; Ptolemy is declared of age, *ibid.*; he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 47; he makes an alliance with the Achæans, 87; he treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, 88; he takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, 38, 88; he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, 88; the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, *ibid.*; Ptolemy chooses Polycrates for his prime minister, with whose assistance, he subdues the rebels, *ibid.*; he renews the alliance with the Achæans, 89; he forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 103; the principal persons of his court poison him, *ibid.*

Ptolemy VI, called Philometer, at six years old, succeeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, iv. 103; cause of war arises between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 122; coronation of Ptolemy, 123; he is defeated by Antiochus, 124; he loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 125; the Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II., surnamed also Physcon, in his place, 126; Antiochus replaces Philometer in appearance upon the throne, 128; the two brothers unite and reign jointly, *ibid.*; the Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing them, 129; Philometer is dethroned by his brother Physcon, 227; he goes to Rome to implore aid, *ibid.*; the senate divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 228; new differences arise between Philometer and Physcon, 229; Philometer refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, *ibid.*; he gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, *ibid.*; he pardons him and restores him his dominions, *ibid.*; he marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 234; he permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, *ibid.*; he marches to the aid of Alexander his son-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 235; plot of Ammonius against Ptolemy, *ibid.*; upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometer takes his daughter from him, and gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in re-ascending his father's throne, *ibid.*; Philometer's death, 236.

Ptolemy VII, called Evergetes II. and Physcon, son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, iv. 126; the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 128; they prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, *ibid.*; the Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 129; Physcon dethrones Philometer, 227; the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 228; Physcon, dissatisfied with the part given him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus; the Romans adjudge it to him, *ibid.*; the people of Cyrenaica oppose Physcon's entrance into this country, 229; that prince re-establishes himself in that country, and, by his bad conduct, causes attempts to be made against his life, *ibid.*; he makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints thither against his brother, *ibid.*; he undertakes to make himself master of the island of

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- Cyprus**, *ibid.*; Philometer beats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, 229, 230; Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometer, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, 236; Physcon's excess of folly and debauchery, 242; Scipio Africanus the younger goes to that prince's court, 243; Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter by Philometer, named also Cleopatra, 250; horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, *ibid.*; a general revolt reduces him to quit that kingdom, *ibid.*; new cruelties of Physcon, *ibid.*; he returns into Egypt, and re-ascends the throne, 251; he supports the impostor Alexander Zabina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, *ibid.*; he gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 253; Physcon's death, *ibid.*
- Pto'le-my VIII.** called Lathyrus, succeeds his father Physcon, *iv.* 253; Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selena his youngest, 254; Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cyzicenfian, against John Hyrcanus, 255; Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, 257; Lathyrus sends an army to reduce Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, 258; barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, *ibid.*; he raises the siege of Ptolemais, 259; he is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 261; Upper Egypt revolts against him, 262; Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, *ibid.*; he dies soon after, *ibid.*
- Pto'le-my IX.** king of Egypt. See Alexander, son of Physcon.
- Pto'le-my X.** son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See Alexander II.
- Pto'le-my XI.** surnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II., *iv.* 266; he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people, by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, 383; he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, 384; he is obliged to escape, and the Alexandrians place Berenice on the throne, *ibid.*; he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth, for his re-establishment, *ibid.*; he causes most of the ambassadors, sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt, to be murdered, 385; an oracle of the Sybil is produced against him, *ibid.*; Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 388; Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, *ibid.*; his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ibid.*; death of Auletes, *ibid.*
- Pto'le-my XII.** son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, *iv.* 388, 389; he expels Cleopatra, 389; he causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, *ibid.*; Cæsar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 390; Cæsar secures the person of Ptolemy, 391; he releases him, 393; Ptolemy renews the war against Cæsar, 394; he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile, while endeavouring to escape, *ibid.*
- Pto'le-my I.** king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, *iv.* 269; he poisons himself, *ibid.*
- Pto'le-my II.** son of Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, *iv.* 391; also of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 394; she poisons Ptolemy, 395.
- Pto'le-my**, son of Antony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Antony, *iv.* 400.
- Pto'le-my A'pi-on**, natural son of Physcon, is made

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- king of Cyrenaica, *iv.* 254; he leaves his kingdom, by will, to the Romans, 260.
- Pto'le-my (Cera'rius)**, or Thunderer, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court, and retires to Lysimachus, and then to Seleucus, *iii.* 308, 318; he engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 318; he assassinates Seleucus, and seizes his dominions, 320; he marries his sister Arsinoe, widow of Lysimachus, and causes his two sons by her to be murdered, 321; he banishes her, *ibid.*; and is soon after killed by the Gauls, 222.
- Pto'le-my (Macron)**, governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometer, revolts, and gives the possession of it to Antiochus Epiphanes, *iv.* 124, 125; Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Cælosyria and Palestine, 125; he marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 137; he becomes a friend to the Jews, 225; Antiochus Epiphanes deprives him of his government, and in despair poisons himself, *ibid.*
- Pto'le-my**, son of Pyrrhus, is killed in a battle with the Lacedæmonians, *iii.* 343.
- Pto'le-my**, one of the officers of Philip, unites with Apelles in the conspiracy against that prince, *iii.* 424; for which he is put to death, 426.
- Pul**, king of the Assyrians, does penance upon the preaching of Jonah, *i.* 282.
- Pul'cher (P. Claudius)** consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal, the Carthaginian general, *i.* 195.
- Pu'nic**, origin and signification of that word, *i.* 149; Punic wars, 186, 203, 248.
- Py'da**, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, *iii.* 34; famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perseus, near that city, *iv.* 183, 183.
- Py-lag'ori**, representatives of the Grecian cities in the Amphictyonic Council, *iii.* 61.
- Py'lus**, a city of Messenia, taken by the Athenians, *ii.* 162.
- Py'r'a-mid**: description of the Pyramids of Egypt, *i.* 100, 135, 136; judgment to be formed of those famous structures, 100.
- Py'r'rus**, Ætolian general, twice beaten by Philip, *iii.* 434.
- Py'r'rus**, son of Æacides king of Epirus, is preserved from the fury of the revolted, *iii.* 299, 300; he is re-established upon the throne of Epirus, by Glaucias king of Illyrium, 300; the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, *ibid.*; he retires to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, *ibid.*; he distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, 296, 300; he goes to Egypt as a hostage for Demetrius, *ibid.*; he marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, *ibid.*; Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, *ibid.*; Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 303; he divides that kingdom with Lysimachus, 304; he is soon obliged to quit it, 305; the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, 327; that prince goes to Italy, 328; he defeats the consul Livinus, 330; he causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, 331; conversation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 332, &c.; Pyrrhus gains a second advantage over the Romans, 336; expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 337, *i.* 185; he returns into Italy, *iii.* 338; he plunders the temple of Proserpine, in the country of the Locrians, *ibid.*; he is defeated by the Romans, 339; he returns into Epirus, 340; he throws himself into Macedonia, and makes himself master of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, *ibid.*; expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponnesus, 341; he besieges Sparta ineffectually, 342; he is killed at the siege of Argos, 345; good and bad characters of Pyrrhus, 304, 327, 345.
- Py-thag'o-ras**, Lacedæmonian, commands part of the fleet of Cyrus the Younger in the expedition

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- of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes, ii. 248.
- Pythagoras, son of Evagoras, defends the city of Salamin, besieged by Artaxerxes, during his father's absence, ii. 293.
- Pythagoras, philosopher, goes to Italy and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school of philosophy, ii. 139; novice of silence which he made his disciples observe, *ibid.*
- Pytharchus, of Cyzicum, gains the favour of Cyrus, who gives him the revenues of seven cities for a pension, i. 387.
- Pythias, famous astronomer, iv. 207.
- Pythias, rashly engages the Boeotians to unite against the Romans, iv. 212; he is put to death by Metellus, 213.
- Pythias, priestess of Apollo at Delphos, i. 39.
- Pythias, friend of Damon; trial of their friendship, ii. 390.
- Pythic games: celebrated games of Greece, i. 44.
- Pythius, Lydian prince, generous offer which he makes Xerxes of his riches, ii. 51; means which the princess, his wife, uses to make him sensible of the injustice and ridicule of his conduct, 52; cruelty which Pythius experiences from Xerxes, *ibid.*
- Pythodorus, sent to the aid of the Leonites, is banished by the Athenians, ii. 180.
- Pythion of Byzantium, famous rhetorician, is deputed by Philip to the Thebans to incline them to peace, iii. 63.

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- Rabirius (Posthumus) demands of Ptolemy Auletes the sums he had lent him at Rome, but is used basely, iv. 388; he is accused at Rome of assisting Ptolemy to corrupt the senate, *ibid.*, Cicero makes his defence, *ibid.*
- Ragau, name of the place where Nebuchodonosor caused Phraortes to be put to death, i. 296.
- Rameses (Miamun) king of Egypt, makes slaves of the Israelites, i. 130, 131.
- Rammius, citizen of Brundisium, ordered by Perseus to poison Eumenes, to whom he discovers the whole, iv. 151.
- Raphia, in Palestine, where Antiochus the Great was defeated by Ptolemy Philopator, iii. 403.
- Regillus (L. Aemilius) commands the Roman fleet, iv. 62; he gains a victory over Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus, 63; he receives the honour of a triumph, 76.
- Regulus (M. Atilius), consul, defeats at sea the Carthaginians, i. 188; he goes to Africa, *ibid.*; the Romans continue him in the command as proconsul, *ibid.*; he defeats the Carthaginians, and seizes Tunis, 189; elated with success, he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, 191; they send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, 193; at his return they put him to a cruel death, *ibid.*
- Religion: origin and source of the religion of the ancients, i. 29, &c.
- Reomithras, one of the chiefs in the revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, delivers up the principal rebels to that prince, to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the confederacy, ii. 461, 462.
- Re treat of the ten thousand Greeks, ii. 260.
- Rhadamanthus, brother of Minos, appointed by him to administer justice in his capital, ii. 339.
- Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt, i. 135.
- Rhegium, city of Sicily, forms a league against Dionysius, ii. 375; it makes peace with that tyrant, *ibid.*; its refusal to give him a wife, and the insolent answer with which that refusal is attended, 383; Dionysius besieges it out of revenge, *ibid.*; miserable fate of that city, *ibid.*; Roman legion, by the aid of the Mamertines,

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- comes and settles there, after having expelled the inhabitants, i. 186; the Romans re-establish the inhabitants, *ibid.*
- Rhesis, Achaean, prevents his son Maemon from opposing the treaty with the Romans, iv. 24.
- Rhodes, an island and city of Asia Minor, i. 28; Rhodes takes arms against Athens, iii. 8; it is declared free, 11; it is subjected by Mausolus, king of Caria, 13; the Rhodians undertake to dethrone Artemisa, widow of that prince, 14; that princess takes their city, *ibid.*; the death of Artemisa reinstates their liberty, 15; the Rhodians refuse to aid Antigonus against Ptolemy, 283; Demetrius besieges their city, 284, 285; he raises the siege a year after, by a peace very honourable for the Rhodians, 290, 291; he makes them a present of all the machines of war employed in that siege, 291; the Rhodians erect the famous Colossus, with the money raised by the sale of those machines, *ibid.*; their implous flattery of Ptolemy, to express their gratitude for the aid he had given them during that siege, *ibid.*; great earthquake at Rhodes, by which the famous Colossus was thrown down, 398; emulation of the neighbouring princes in consoling that afflicted city, 398, iv. 315; war between the Rhodians and Byzantines, and the causes of it, iii. 404; peace restored between the two people, 405; war between the Rhodians and Philip, iv. 9; they defeat Hannibal at sea, 64; dispute between the Rhodians and Eumenes before the Romans, concerning the Grecian cities of Asia, 72, &c.; the Rhodians signalize their zeal for Rome in the war with Perseus, 155; they send ambassadors to Rome, and to the Roman army in Macedonia, who speak there in favour of Perseus with extraordinary insolence, 169, 178; they send deputies to Rome, who endeavour to appease the anger of the senate, 195; after long and warm solicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people, 197.
- Rhodo-gu'na, daughter of Mithridates king of the Parthians, is married to Demetrius king of Syria, iv. 241.
- Rhone, a river; passage of the Rhone by Hannibal, i. 209.
- Romans: first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, i. 170; the Romans send deputies to copy the laws of the cities of Greece, ii. 94; second treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, i. 176; war between the Romans and Pyrrhus, iii. 329; they are defeated in two battles by that prince, 330, 336; they gain a great victory over that prince, and oblige him to quit Italy, 339; they punish their citizens who settled in Rhegium, i. 186; they send ambassadors to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and make an alliance with that prince, iii. 346; they aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians, i. 86; they make an alliance with Hiero, king of Syracuse, iv. 311; they form a design of fitting out a fleet for the first time, i. 187; they beat the Carthaginians, first, near the coast of Myle, and afterwards near Ecnome, 188; they go to Africa, *ibid.*; they are at first victorious, and afterwards defeated, 189, &c.; they defeat the Carthaginian fleet in sight of Sicily, 193; they go to Sicily, and form the siege of Lilybaeum, 194; they are defeated at sea, 195; they gain a great victory over the Carthaginians, to whom they grant peace, 196; they take Sardinia from the Carthaginians, i. 202; they drive Teuta out of Illyrium, iii. 372; they send ambassadors into Greece, to notify their treaty with the Illyrians, *ibid.* the Corinthians admit them to the Isthmian games, and the Athenians grant them the freedom of their city, *ibid.*; the Romans drive De

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Se-leu'cus (Callinicus) ascends the throne of Syria after his father, Antiochus Theos, poisoned by Laodice, iii. 357; he endeavours to retake what Ptolemy had conquered from him, and is unsuccessful on several occasions, 359; he unites with his brother Hierax against Ptolemy, 360; war between the two brothers, *ibid.*; Seleucus marches against Arsaces, and is taken prisoner, 362; death of Seleucus, 364.

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Se-leu'cus, the son of Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, iv. 252; his mother Cleopatra kills him, *ibid.*

Se-leu'cus, eldest son of Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, succeeds him, iv. 260; he supports himself against Antiochus the Cyziceniian, 260; he is driven out of his dominions by Eusebus, and burnt in Mopsuestia, *ibid.*

Se-leu'cus (Cybiosactes,) son of Eusebes and Sele-na, solicits the Roman senate for his mother, iv. 262; he accepts the crown of Egypt and marries Berenice, 387; he renders himself odious, and is put to death by the order of Berenice, *ibid.*

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Se-mir'a-mis, queen of Assyria: her birth, i. 274; she marries Ninus, and ascends the throne, *ibid.*; she visits all the parts of her empire, 278, 279; her authority over her people, 279; her conquest, *ibid.*; she resigns the government to her son, and retires from the sight of mankind, 280; difference between her and Sardanapalus, 283.

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Sen-nach'e-rib, king of Nineveh, declares war against Hezekiah, and reduces Jerusalem to extremities, i. 285; he writes to Hezekiah a letter full of blasphemies against the God of Israel, and marches against the king of Egypt, whose dominion he ravages, and then returns against Jerusalem, *ibid.*; his army is destroyed by an angel, 286; he is murdered by his own children, *ibid.*

Sep'ti-mus, Roman officer in the service of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, assassinates Pompey, iv. 389.

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Se-ra'pis, divinity adored in Egypt, whose image is brought from Pontus to Alexandria, iii. 308.

Se'ron, general of Antiochus, defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed, iv. 136.

Ser-to'ri-us, Roman general, treats with Mithridates, iv. 356.

Ser-vi'l'us, serves in the Roman army in quality of proconsul, i. 222; he is killed in the battle of Cannæ, 223.

Se'sach or Se-son'chis, king of Egypt, marches against Jerusalem, and carries away all its treasures, i. 137.

Se-sos'tris, king of Egypt, his education and conquest, i. 131; his works beneficial to Egypt, 133; his blind fondness for his own grandeur, *ibid.*; his death, 134.

Se'thon, king of Egypt, causes himself to be consecrated high-priest of Vulcan, and abandons himself entirely to superstition, i. 137; miraculous manner in which Herodotus relates, that he was delivered from Sennacherib's irruption into his dominions, 138; death of Sethon, 139.

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Seu'thes, prince of Thrace, is re-established in his father's dominions by Xerophon, ii. 266; perfidy of that prince to Xenophon and his troops, *ibid.*

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Shi'nar, plain over which Babylon was built, i. 273.

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- Si'mon**, son of Mattathias, iv. 132; he is chosen general in the room of his brother Jonathan, and marches against Tryphon, 135; he is made high-priest and prince of Judea, and renews the ancient treaties with the Romans, 242; his death, 247.
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- Si-mon't-des**, his answer to Hiero, who asked what God was, ii. 135.
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- Smer'do-nus**, one of the six generals of Xerxes' army in his expedition against Greece, ii. 56.
- Smyr'na**, city of Æolis, i. 415.
- Soc-ra-tes**, first of the philosophers; his birth, ii. 302; he applies himself at first to sculpture, *ibid.*; then to the study of the sciences, *ibid.*; his wonderful progress in them, *ibid.*; his character, 303; his employments, 302; his sufferings from the ill temper of his wife, 304; demon or familiar spirit of Socrates, *ibid.*; the Delphic oracle declares him the wisest of mankind, 306; he distinguishes himself at the battle of Potidæa, and at that of Delium, 125, 171; his intimacy with Alcibiades, 175; he devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the Athenian youth, 307; attachment of his disciples to him, 308; admirable principles which he gives them upon government and religion, 308, 309, 310, 311; he industriously applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the Athenian youth, 311; what we are to understand by the ironical manner ascribed to him, 312; Socrates is accused of holding bad opinions concerning the gods, and of corrupting the youth of Athens, 312; he defends himself without art or meanness, 316, &c.; he is condemned to die, 319; he refuses to escape out of prison, 320; he passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul, 322, &c.; he drinks the hemlock, 324; punishment of his accusers, 326; honours rendered to his memory by the Athenians, *ibid.*; reflections on the sentence passed upon him by the Athenians, and on Socrates himself, *ibid.*; analogy between the death of Socrates and that of the governor of Tigranes, i. 317.
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- Sog-di-a'na**, province of Upper Asia, i. 27; Alexander makes himself master of it, iii. 163; revolt against that prince, *ibid.*; great courage of thirty young Sogdian prisoners condemned to die, but pardoned, 167.
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- Sol'di-ers**: employment and exercises of the soldiers in their camp, iv. 177.
- Sol'on**, one of the seven sages of Greece, is elected archon and legislator by the Athenians, i. 432; government which he institutes at Athens, *ibid.*, &c.; laws which he gives the Athenians, 434, 435; travels of Solon into Egypt and Lydia, 436; his conduct at the court of Croesus, i. 30; conversation of Solon with Thales upon marriage, 431; at his return to Athens, he finds every thing changed, 436; he endeavours to make Pisistratus abdicate the tyranny in vain, 438; death of Solon, *ibid.*
- Sol'si-us**, Lacedæmonian, preceptor to Hannibal, i. 243; he accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions and composes the history of that great captain, *ibid.*
- Sooth'say-ers**: reflection upon their predictions, iii. 209.
- Soph'ists**, their character, ii. 311.
- Soph'o-cles**, one of the Athenian generals, is banished for not having attempted the conquest of Sicily, ii. 180.
- Soph'o-cles**, tragic poet, disputes the prize of poetry with Æschylus, and carries it against him, i. 64; his death, *ibid.*; tragedies of his come down to us, *ibid.*; in what manner he defended himself in a very advanced age against the ingratitude of his children, *ibid.*; character of Sophocles, 65.
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- Sophro-nis'cus**, the father of Socrates the philosopher, ii. 302.
- Sophros'y-ne**, daughter of Dionysius, is married to her brother Dionysius the Younger, ii. 389.
- Sor-na'ti-us**, one of Lucullus' officers, commands the Pontus during the absence of that general, iv. 362.
- Sos'i-bes**, Ptolemy Philopator's minister, causes Arsinoe, the king's sister and wife, to be murdered, iii. 410; he is obliged to quit his employment, 411; he prevents him from aiding Cleomenes, and advises him to seize his person, iii. 414.
- Sos'i-bes**, son of the former, guardian to Ptolemy Epiphanes, iv. 8.
- Sos'is**, one of the chief conspirators against Hieronymus, exhorts the Syracans to recover their liberty, iv. 322; he is chosen one of the principal magistrates, 323; he commands the troops sent to the aid of Marcellus, 326.
- Sos'i-us** (Caius) consul, declares for Antony, and goes to him, iv. 401.
- Sos'the-nes** drives the Gauls out of Macedonia, iii. 322; he is overpowered by Brennus, *ibid.*
- Sos'tra-tus**, architect, builds the tower of Pharos, and his artifice to preserve his name, i. 109.
- Sos'tra-tus**, or **Sos-sis'tra-tus**, governor of Syracuse, delivers up that city to Pyrrhus, iii. 337; Pyrrhus, afterwards wishes to seize and put him to death, 338.
- So-ta'des**, satyric poet, his just punishment for his caunies, iii. 347.
- So'us**, king of Sparta, with Agis, takes Elos, i. 81.
- Spain**: description of Spain, i. 167; mines of silver and gold, 157; subdued by the Carthaginians, 167; entirely conquered by the Romans, 230, &c.
- Spar'ta**.—See Lacedæmon.
- Spen'di-us** causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 198, 199; he is placed at their head, 199; he puts Gisco to death, 200; he treats with the Carthaginians, 201; he is seized and hanged, *ibid.*
- Speu'sip-pus**, philosopher, Plato's nephew, his intimacy with Dion, ii. 399.
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Sphodrias, a Lacedæmonian, forms a fruitless enterprise against the Piræus, ii. 431; he is acquitted for that attempt by the influence of Agesilaus, 432.
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Spi-thi-da'tes, an officer of Artaxerxes, goes over to Agesilaus, and renders him great services, ii. 281 but, offended at the severity of Hierippidas, he retires to Sardis, *ibid*.
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Sta-sic'-ra'tes, architect, appointed by Alexander to execute the magnificent funeral pile of Hephestion, iii. 206; he proposes to Alexander to cut mount Athos into the form of a man, *ibid*. See Dinocrates.
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Sta-ti'ra, wife of Darius, prisoner to Alexander, iii. 105; her death, 132.
Sta-ti'ra, daughter of Darius, marries Alexander, *ibid*. 200; she is murdered by the intrigues of Roxana, 230.
Sta-ti'ra, sister of Mithridates, receives orders from that prince to die, iv. 360.
Ste-sag'-o-ras, son of Cimon, and prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, ii. 34.
Sthe-ne'lus, king of Mycenæ, i. 412.
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Stra-ton'-i-ce, wife of Mithridates, submits to Pompey, for which he murders her son, iv. 378.
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Sy-en-ne'is, king of Cilicia, abandons the pass of that country to Cyrus the Younger, ii. 249.
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Tal-thy'b'-us, Agamemnon's herald, honoured as a god at Sparta, ii. 37.
Ta'mos, Egyptian, commands the fleet of young Cyrus in that prince's expedition against his brother, ii. 249.
Ta-na-ox-a-res, son of Cyrus. See Smerdis.
Ta-ren'tum, city of Italy; the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, iii. 327; that prince leaves a garrison in their city, 337.
Tar-ra-co'ni-a, part of ancient Spain, i. 167.
Tar'sus, city of Cilicia, subjected by Alexander, iii. 95.
Tau'ri-on poisons Aratus by order of Philip, iii. 431.
Tax'i-lus, Indian king, puts himself under the protection of Alexander, and accompanies him against Porus, iii. 182; he is sent to Porus to persuade him to submit, 186; Porus is reconciled to Taxilus, 192.
Tax'i-lus, general of Mithridates, defeated by Sylla, iv. 350.

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Teg'y-ra, city of Bœotia, battle between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians near it, ii. 433.

Te-le-arch, office among the Thebans, ii. 441.

Te-lec'las, king of Sparta, murdered by the Messenians, i. 83.

Tel'e-scope, glass for seeing remote objects: invention of it, iii. 446.

Te-lu'ti-as, is declared admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet, by the influence of Agesilaus, ii. 288; besieges Corinth by sea, *ibid.*, he is sent against Olynthus in the room of Phæbidas, 425; he is killed in battle, *ibid.*

Te'lus, a citizen of Athens, esteemed most happy, and why, i. 301.

Te'lys, Sybarite, occasions the ruin of his country, ii. 140.

Tem'ple, of Ephesus, most celebrated in Greece, iii. 77.

Ten'nes, king of Sidon, delivers up that city to Ochus, iii. 17; Ochus rewards his treason with death, *ibid.*

Ter'ence, Latin poet; abridgment of his life, i. 161.

Te-ri'l'us, tyrant of Himera, engages the Carthaginians to invade Sicily, ii. 132.

Te-ri-teuch'mes, brother of Satira, wife of Artaxerxes, marries Hamestris, daughter of Darius III. ii. 238; tragical history of Teriteuchmes, *ibid.*

Teu'ta, after the death of Agron her husband, prince of Illyrium, reigns in his stead, iii. 372; her gross insult on the Romans in the person of their ambassadors, *ibid.*; she is obliged to demand peace of them, and obtains it, *ibid.*

Tha'is, a famous courtesan, born in Attica, causes the palace of Persepolis to be burnt, iii. 147.

Tha'les of Miletus, philosopher; his reasons for not marrying, i. 434; founder of the Ionic sect, 447.

Tha-les'tris, queen of the Amazons, comes to visit Alexander, iii. 155.

Thar'a-ca, Ethiopian king of Egypt, i. 139.

Thar'sis, the second son of Javan, settles in Greece, i. 410.

Tha'sus, an island in Thrace, revolts against the Athenians, ii. 104; Cimon reduces it, *ibid.*

The-a'no, priestess at Athens, refuses to curse Alcibiades, ii. 188, &c.

The-ar'i-des, brother of Dionysius, sent to Olympia to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race, ii. 386.

The-a-tre: description of the theatre of the ancients, i. 72.

Tho'ba-is, part of Egypt, i. 97.

The'be, wife of Alexander, tyrant of Phææ, obtains his permission to see Pelopidas, ii. 446; after her conversation with him, she makes her three brothers assassinate her husband, 449.

Thebes, city of Bœotia in Greece; its foundation, and first kings, i. 413; the Thebans besiege Plataeæ, ii. 144; they defeat the Athenians near Delium, ii. 171; they give refuge to the Athenians, who fled after the taking of their city by Lysander, 242; they enter into a league against the Lacedæmonians, 272; their valour at the battle of Coronæ, 286; they are compelled by the treaty of Antalcides to give the cities of Bœotia their liberty, 423; Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 424; Pelopidas reinstates its liberty, 430; the Thebans gain a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 433; they destroy Plataeæ and Thespiæ, 433; they defeat the Lacedæmonians, and put them to flight at the battle of Leuctra, 436; they ravage Laconia, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 438, &c.; they send Pelopidas to the court of Persia to gain its friendship, 442; they make Alexander, tyrant of Phææ, submit, 443, &c.; they make a second attempt against Sparta, 450; and gain the battle of Mantinea, 452, &c.; they aid Artabazus against the king of Persia, iii. 8; they call in Philip against

the Phocæans, 46; the Thebans, Messenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponnesus, 52; the Thebans join the Athenians against Philip, 63, 64; they are defeated near Chærona, 65; Philip puts a garrison into their city, *ibid.*; the Thebans, after his death, put part of the garrison to the sword, for which Alexander destroys their city, 82, 83; they are restored by Cassander, 259; they make an alliance with the Romans against Perseus, and surrender themselves to the Romans iv. 155, 164; Sylla, deprives them of half their territory, 350. Theft encouraged in the young Lacedæmonians, i. 431; but no crime more severely punished among the Scythians, ii. 19.

The-mis'to-cles, Athenian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Marathon, ii. 40; he removes Epicydes from the command, and causes himself to be elected general in his stead, 58; he supports the decree to recall Aristides, and resigns the command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, *ibid.*; he determines the Athenians to abandon their city, 64; and the Greeks to fight in the strait of Salamin, 66; he reinstates the works of Athens, and fortifies the Piræus, 83, 84; black design which he conceives for supplanting the Lacedæmonians, 84; he is banished Athens, 88; the Athenians and Lacedæmonians uniting against him as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 89; he retires to Artaxerxes, 98; his great credit with that prince, 99, 100; he kills himself, 165; character of Themistocles, ii. 35, 66, 88, 89, 105; his great moderation on many occasions, 59, 66.

The-mis'tus of Syracuse conspires to seize the sovereignty, and is killed by order of the magistrates, iv. 323.

The'non, commander of the citadel of Syracuse, surrenders to Pyrrhus, iii. 337; Pyrrhus soon after puts him to death, 338.

The-oc'ri-tus, a poet at the court of Hiero, iv. 316.

The-o-do'rus, chief of the Eumolpidæ at Athens, explains the curse made against Alcibiades, ii. 220.

The-o-do'rus, of Syracuse, declares openly against Dionysius, in favour of liberty, ii. 386.

The-o-do'tus, of Syracuse, persuades Dion to return and save the city, ii. 407; he puts himself into Dion's hands; Dion pardons him, 408.

The-o-do'tus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and gets himself declared king, iii. 352; he dies, 361.

The-o-do'tus, son of the former, succeeds his father, and makes a league with Arsaces, iii. 361.

The-o-do'tus is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo, iii. 400; he is defeated, and obliged to abandon the field of battle, 401.

The-o-do'tus, an Ætolian, governor of Cœlosyria for Ptolemy, defends it against Antiochus, whom he obliges to retire, iii. 401; he is accused, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt, to give an account of his conduct, 405; in resentment for that affront, he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 406; he enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with a design to kill him, but fails in that attempt, and escapes to his camp, 407.

The-o-do'tus, of Syracuse, conspires against Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without discovering his accomplices, iv. 320.

The-o-do'tus, preceptor to the last Ptolemy, advises him to kill Pompey, iv. 389; he presents the head of that Roman to Cæsar, iv. 390.

The-o-g'i-ton, of Megira, his advice after the battle of Olynthus, ii. 77.

The-o-phras'tus, a general of Antigonus, is put to death for refusing to quit the city of Corinth when it was surrendered to Aratus, iii. 371.

The-o-phras'tus, a philosopher, discovered by his accent to be a stranger at Athens, ii. 562.

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The-o-pom'pus, disciple of Isocrates, gains the prize of eloquence over his master, and has the weakness and vanity to boast of it, iii. 14.

The-ox'e-na, a Thessalian lady, daughter of Herodius, marries Porus, iv. 105; tragical and courageous end of Theoxena, 105, 106.

The-ram'e-nes, Athenian general, charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginusæ, ii. 227; not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 228; he is deputed to Lysander, during the siege of Athens, 534; he opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, ii. 241; he is accused by Critias, and put to death, 242.

Ther'ma, capital of Ætolia, taken by surprise, and ravaged by Philip, iii. 421.

Ther-mop'y-læ, a pass of mount Ceta, in Thessaly, ii. 60; battle there between the Lacedæmonians and Xerxes, 61; victory of the Romans over Antiochus near that place, iv. 59.

The'ron, tyrant of Agrigentum, makes an alliance with Gelon, and gains, in conjunction with him, a great battle over the Carthaginians, ii. 132.

The'sc-us, king of Athens, i. 113; he dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, ii. 101; Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ibid.*

Thes-mo-the'tæ, Athenian magistrates, ii. 347.

Thes'pi-a, a city of Achaia, ruined by the Thebans, ii. 434.

Thes'pis, a Greek poet, considered the inventor of tragedy, i. 61, 447.

Thes-sa-lon'i-ca, wife of Cassander, is killed by her son Antipater, iii. 301, &c.

Thes-sa-lus, third son of Pisistratus, i. 439.

Thes'sa-ly, a province of Ancient Greece, i. 408; the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, ii. 60; they implore aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Phææ, ii. 444; Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ibid.*; they apply to Philip who frees them from their tyrants, iii. 40.

Thes'ta, wife of Polyxenes, her noble answer on her husband's escape, ii. 382.

The'ti-na, name of the lower class of people at Athens, ii. 342.

Thet'mo-sis, or Am'o-sis, having expelled the shepherd-kings out of Lower Egypt, reigns there, i. 130.

Thim'bron, a Spartan general, marches against Tissaphernes, ii. 266; upon some discontent he is recalled, 270.

Tho'as, an Ætolian, falls in a design to seize Chalcis, iv. 52; determines Antiochus to enter Greece, 54.

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Thra'so, a confidant of Hieronymus, is accused by Theodotus of having conspired against that prince, and is put to death, iv. 320, 321.

Thra-syb'u-lus, tyrant of Miletus, is besieged by Halyattes, and frees himself by a stratagem, i. 300.

Thra-syb'u-lus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hiero's death, but is dethroned for his cruelty, ii. 137.

Thra-syb'u-lus, a general of the Athenians, ii. 216; he causes Alcibiades to be deposed, ii. 224; he quits Athens to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, ii. 243; he expels them from that city, and reinstates its liberty, *ibid.*

Thra-syl'us, a general of the Athenians, ii. 216.

Thrus-y-me'no, a lake of Tuscany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, i. 218

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Thu-cyd'i-des, the Greek historian, is sent to the aid of Amphipolis, and is banished for suffering that city to be taken, ii. 171.

Thu-cyd'i-des, brother-in-law to Cimon, is set up against Pericles, by the nobility of Athens, ii. 117; Pericles prevails, and gets him banished, 119.

Thu'ri-um, a city of Sicily: its foundation, ii. 114.

Thym'bri-a, a city of Lydia, where Cyrus defeated Croesus, i. 326.

Thy're-a, a small territory of Greece, cause of the war between the Argives and Spartans, i. 82.

Thy'us of Paphlagonia, revolts against Artaxerxes, and is subdued by Datames, ii. 298.

Ti'a'ra of the Persian kings, ii. 462.

Ti-be'ri-us. See Gracchus.

Ti-ci'us, a river of Italy, where Scipio was defeated by Hannibal, i. 213.

Ti'glath-Pi-le'ser, king of Nineveh, aids Ahas against the kings of Syria and Israel, i. 284.

Ti-gra'nes, son to the king of Armenia, obtains pardon for his father of Cyrus, i. 315, 316, &c. he commands the Armenian troops, 317.

Ti-gra'nes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia, is released by the Parthians, and placed upon the throne, iv. 260; he accepts the crown of Syria, 262, he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, 342; he invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, 304, 355; he gives Mithridates refuge, 361; the Romans declare war against him, 362; he is defeated by Lucullus, 366; he raises new troops in concert with Mithridates, 367; he is defeated a second time, 369; Pompey marches against him, and finds him at war with his son, 375; Tigranes submits his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey, *ibid.*; Pompey leaves him part of his dominions, 376, &c.

Ti-gra'nes, son of the former, makes war upon his father, iv. 375; he puts himself under the protection of Pompey, *ibid.*; but not complying with his decree, he endeavours to fly, 376; Pompey reserves him for his triumph, *ibid.*

Ti-gran-o-cer'ta, a city of Armenia, built by Tigranes, iv. 355; Lucullus takes it and abandons it to be plundered, 366.

Ti'gris, a river of Asia, iii. 133.

Ti-mæ'a, wife of Agis: excess of her passion for Alcibiades, ii. 190.

Ti-mag'o-ras, sent from Athens to the court of Persia, receives great presents, for which he is condemned to die, ii. 443.

Ti-man'dra, concubine to Alcibiades, performs his funeral obsequies, ii. 240.

Ti-mar'chus, tyrant of Miletus, is conquered and killed by Antiochus Theos, iii. 349.

Ti-mar'chus, governor of Babylon, revolts against Demetrius Soter, and is put to death, iv. 231.

Ti-ma'si-on is chosen one of the generals of the Greeks after the death of Clearchus, ii. 263.

Ti-ma-sith'e-us, chief of the pirates of Lipara: his noble and religious behaviour, ii. 413.

Ti-me'nes, one of the principal Heraclides, re-enters Peloponnesus, i. 415; Argos falls to him by lot, *ibid.*

Ti-moc'le-a, a Theban lady; her courageous action at the storming of Thebes, iii. 83.

Ti-moc'ra-tes, the friend of Dionysius the Younger, marries Dion's wife while he is banished, ii. 399; he flies on the approach of Dion, 402.

Tim-o-la-us of Corinth, advises the cities in alliance against the Spartans to attack them in their own territory, ii. 284.

Tim-o-la-us, is sent from Sparta to offer the riches of Nabis to Philipœmen, who refuses them with disdain, iv. 53, 54.

Ti-mo'le-on, of Corinth, sacrifices his brother, Timophanes to his country, ii. 414; he is sent to the aid of Syracuse, *ibid.* i. 176, 177; he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a wise stratagem, ii. 415; he gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Ictas, near the city of Adramon, and enters Syracuse, 416; Dionysius sur-

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Ti-moph'a-nes, of Corinth, having made himself tyrant of his country, his brother Timoleon causes him to be assassinated, *ibid.* 414.

Ti-mo'the-us, son of Conon, is sent by the Athenians to aid the Thebans, *ibid.* 432; he ravages the coast of Laconia, and makes himself master of Corcyra, *ibid.*; he is employed by the Athenians in the war against the allies, *ibid.* 438; he is accused by Chares, and dies at Chalcis; fine saying of Timotheus, 9; his eulogy, *ibid.*

Ti-mo'the-us, a general of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, *ibid.* 139; he is defeated a second time by the same captain in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, *ibid.* 226.

Ti-mox'e-nes, a general of the Achæans, *ibid.* 387.

Tir-i-ba'sus, a general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that prince not to fly before his brother, Cyrus, *ibid.* 250; he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes against Avagoras, and besieges that prince in Salamin, 292; he is falsely accused by Orontes, and carried to the court in chains, 293; trial of Tiribasis, 296; the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to his favour, *ibid.*; Tiribasis accompanies Artaxerxes in his expedition against the Caduseans, 297; his stratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Persians, *ibid.*

Ti-ri-ba'sus, satrap of Armenia, harasses the ten thousand Greeks in their retreat, *ibid.* 263.

Ti rin-ta-tech'mus, son of Artabanes, one of the commanders of the army of Xerxes in that prince's expedition against Greece, *ibid.* 56.

Ti-sam'e-nes, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ, with his brother Penthius, *ibid.* 412.

Ti-sip'pus, an Ætolian, accused of cruelties against those who had not taken part with the Romans against Perseus, is acquitted by Paulus Æmilius, *ibid.* 198.

Tis-sa-pher'nes, a Persian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia, *ibid.* 169; he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, *ibid.*; he suffers himself to be seduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himself up entirely to him, 212; he concludes a treaty with the Peloponnesians, 215; he causes Alcibiades to be seized and sent prisoner to Sardis, 218; he commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon, at the battle of Cunaxa, and distinguishes himself in it, 250, 251, 253; he takes upon him to reconduct the Greeks into their own country, 257; he seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, 259; he joins Pharnabazus to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, 272; he sends to command Agesilaus to quit Asia, and to declare war against him in case of refusal, 278; he is defeated near Sardis, 279; he is accused of treason, and put to death by Artaxerxes, *ibid.*; character of Tissaphernes, 280.

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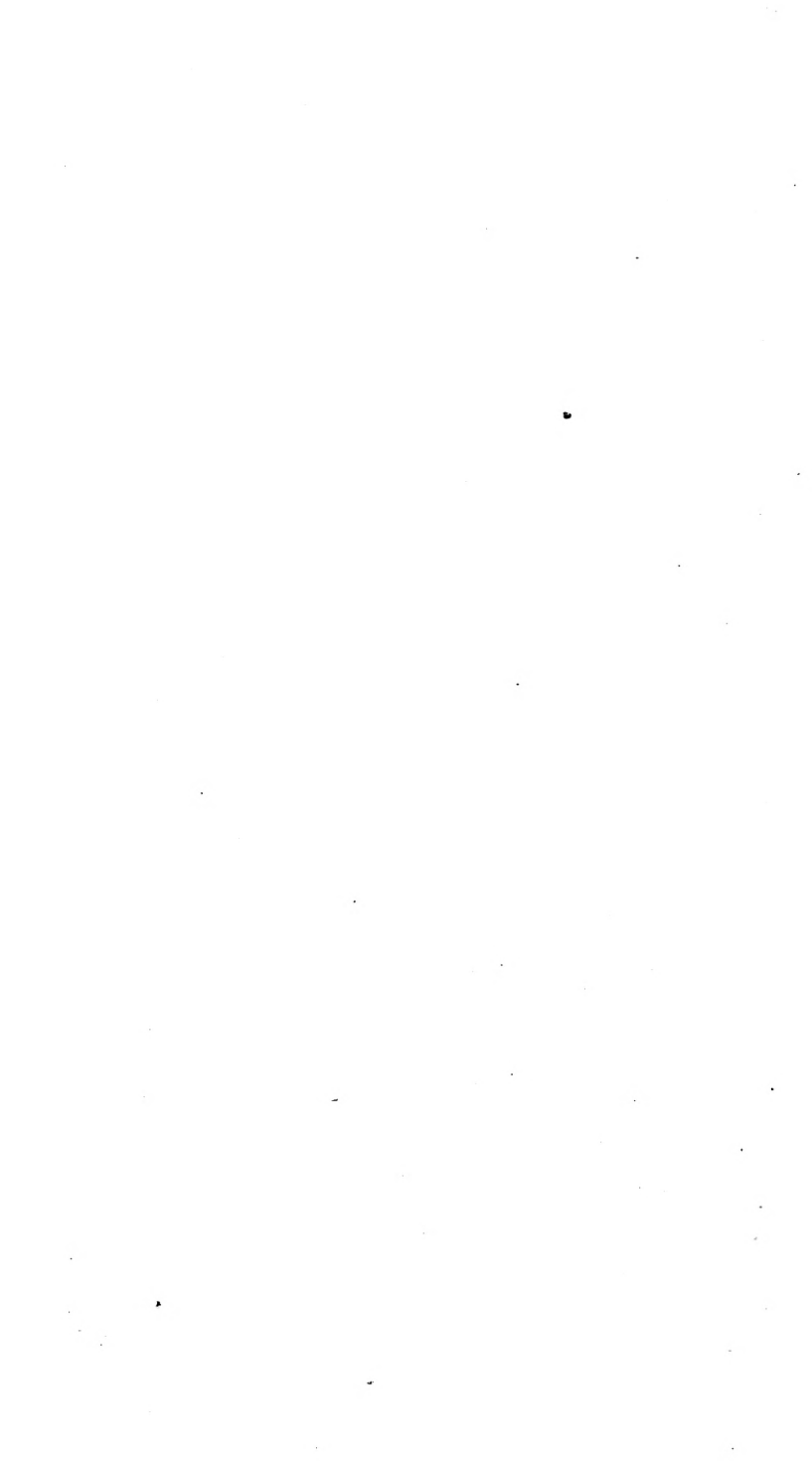
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